This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY
ORGANIZED 1891

GOLD COAST NATIVE INSTITUTIONS:

WITH THOUGHTS UPON A HEALTHY IMPERIAL POLICY FOR THE GOLD COAST AND ASHANTI.

BY CASELY HAYFORD, Esq.,

OF THE INNER TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW, AND OF THE GOLD COAST BAR.

Advocating the Imperialisation of the Gold Coast and of Ashanti on purely aboriginal lines, leading ultimately to the Imperialisation of West Africa with a lucid exposition of the Native State System of the Gold Coast and of Ashanti, and the working of the Concessions Ordinance.

Anglo-African Argus and Gold Coast Globe speaks of it as an "epoch-making work in the history of West African thought."

Mr. WALTER R. WARREN, LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, in *West Africa*:—"This book I have read from cover to cover, and among its 418 pages I have failed to find a dull one. It is a remarkable work, written by a native thoroughly conversant with the English language and law, and a master of the constitution of his own people."

The West African Mail:—"We recommend a careful perusal of this book."

The British and South African Gazette:—"The work possesses great moral and intellectual value, and is an instructive commentary upon the customs and institutions of the Gold Coast of which Mr. Hayford has had a long and useful experience, which enables him to speak with weight and authority upon the subject."

HECTOR MACLEOD, Esq., M.A., late Chief Justice of the Gold Coast, says:—"How happy I should have been when proceeding to the Gold Coast in 1880 could I have discovered such a treasury of information as to the people among whom I was to administer justice."

Professor F. W. MAITLAND, of Downing College, Cambridge, says:—"It contains much that interests me."

The Daily News says:—"It is a treatise which commends itself by reason of its careful arrangement, accurate detail, knowledge of local customs and institutions, and its admirable *suggestions for the improvement of local administration likely to be beneficial to British and Fanti.*"

DR. E. W. BLYDEN.

West Africa before Europe

and other Addresses,

DELIVERED IN ENGLAND

IN 1901 AND 1903,

BY

EDWARD WILMOT BLYDEN, LL.D.,

Author of "From West Africa to Palestine," "Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race." "African Problem," &c., &c.

With an Introduction by CASELY HAYFORD,

Barrister-at-Law, Author of "Gold Coast Native Institutions."

LONDON:

C. M. PHILLIPS,

23, SOUTHAMPTON BUILDINGS, W.C.

1905.

SRV

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Introduction	i
1.—West Africa	1
Address delivered before Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, September 1901.	
2.—Islam in the Western Soudan ..	37
Reprinted from Journal of African Society, October, 1902.	
3.—Some Problems of West Africa .	95
Address delivered before Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, June 16, 1903.	
4.—West Africa before Europe ...	127
Address delivered before the African Society, June 26, 1903.	

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

916.6
B

B594085

READING ROOM,
INNER TEMPLE,
LONDON,
27th July, 1903.

DEAR DR. BLYDEN,

I have read with deep interest your article "Islam in the Western Soudan" in the October number of the Journal of the African Society.

Without saying that I agree with you in every particular, I am fully convinced that the thoughts therein expressed are worthy the earnest attention and study of all thinking Africans.

I have pleasure in enclosing herewith a cheque for £20, and shall be glad if you will please direct the re-publication in book form of the said article together with any other public utterances of yours on this and kindred subjects you may think fit to include.

In the event of your adopting the course I suggest, I shall thank you please to cause to be forwarded to me at Anona Chambers, Axim, Gold Coast, some copies of the book for distribution among our Gold Coast friends.

Yours faithfully,
CASELY HAYFORD.

Dr. E. W. BLYDEN,
Portland Hotel,
London, E.C.

INTRODUCTION.

The claim of Edward Wilmot Blyden to the esteem and regard of all thinking Africans rests not so much upon the special work he has done for any particular people of the African race, as upon the general work he has done for the race as a whole.

The work of men like Booker T. Washington and W. E. Burghart Du Bois is exclusive and provincial in a sense. The work of Edward Wilmot Blyden is universal, covering the entire race and the entire race problem.

What do I mean? I mean this, that while Booker T. Washington seeks to promote the material advancement of the black man in the United States, and W. E. Burghart Du Bois his social enfranchisement amid surroundings and in an atmosphere uncongenial to racial development, Edward Wilmot Blyden has sought for more than a quarter of a century to reveal everywhere the African unto himself; to fix his attention upon original ideas and conceptions as to his place in the economy of the world; to point

out to him his work as a race among the races of men; lastly and most important of all, to lead him back unto self-respect. He has been the voice of one crying in the wilderness all these years, calling upon all thinking Africans to go back to the rock whence they were hewn by the common Father of the nations—to drop metaphor, to learn to unlearn all that foreign sophistry has encrusted upon the intelligence of the African. Born in the West Indies some seventy years ago and nurtured in foreign culture, he has yet remained an African; and, to-day he is the greatest living exponent of the true spirit of African nationality and manhood.

To emphasise an important consideration. In the Afro-American school of thought the black man is seeking intellectually and materially to show himself a man along the lines of progress of the white man. In the African school of thought, represented by Dr. Blyden, the black man is engaged upon a sublimer task, namely, the discovery of his true place in creation upon natural and rational lines. That is the *striking* difference between the two

great schools of the thinkers of the race. And it has been the work of Edward Wilmot Blyden to accentuate this difference; and, to-day, he, of whom we are all so proud, is the leading thinker of the latter school of thought.

Apart from the magnetism of his personality, the great influence of Dr. Blyden over the rising thinking youth of the race, lies in the fact that he has revealed in his writings and utterances the true motive power which shall carry the race on from victory unto victory. And all he has to say to his people, summing up his teaching in one word, is: "Man know thyself."

The voice that was aforetime crying solitarily in the wilderness has suddenly become the voice of a nation and of a people, calling unto their kindred across the Atlantic to come back to their way of thinking. We notice with a pang the "strivings after the wind" in which our brethren in America are engaged, and we ask them to-day to return to first principles and to original and racial conceptions—to those cooling streams by the fountains of Africa which would refresh their souls.

To le[illegible]sible doubt as to my meaning,

Afro-Americans must bring themselves into touch with some of the general traditions and institutions of their ancestors, and, though sojourning in a strange land, endeavour to conserve the characteristics of the race. Thus and only thus, like Israel of old, will they be able, metaphorically, to walk out of Egypt in the near future with a great and a real spoil.

Edward Wilmot Blyden is a leader among leaders of African aboriginal thought; and lest a prophet should be without honour among his own kindred, I am happy in this introductory note to have, among others, the privilege and the opportunity of giving him the recognition that is his due.

CASELY HAYFORD.

January 4, 1905.

AXIM, GOLD COAST, WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICA.*

I am to address you this afternoon on West Africa—a large and important subject—too large and too important to be dealt with within the limits to which circumstances confine me. An hour, or even two hours, would be a very short time for a speaker on West Africa to do anything like justice to his subject unless he had the power of miraculous condensation. A whole book would be necessary to deal with so vast and comprehensive a subject—nay, several books. Miss Kingsley did not think

* *Address delivered before Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, September, 1901.*

she had exhausted the subject when she had devoted to it three books, besides lectures and letters; so that, if forgetful of the imposed limitations I happen to exceed the time, I hope the Chairman will be good enough to give me a gentle reminder.

MISS KINGSLEY

But what shall I say of West Africa after Miss Kingsley? What I am able to do now, and what probably I am expected to do, is to pass in rapid review from the African standpoint the various agencies which in the interest of civilisation and progress, are at work in West Africa. But I cannot proceed without saying a word of Miss Kingsley. Brief as was my acquaintance with her, I recognised in her a spirit sent to this world to serve Africa and the African race in a way in which it was not given to others to serve them. Miss Kingsley was one of those simple beings—would there were more of them—to whom nothing seems an impossibility that is noble and just. She believed in spite of all appearances, in the strong sense of justice, and in

the sincere aspirations of her countrymen after whatever things are lovely and of good report, and it was a source of grief to her that they were so often misrepresented, or misrepresented themselves among races alien to them. After her two visits to Africa, entirely in the interests of science, where she studied the African in his native home, she returned to England with a deep sense of the injustice done to that son of the tropics by her people, through an entire misunderstanding of him; and she gave the remainder of her life—shortened, alas, by her labours in Africa—to introducing the African to Europe, and pleading for more patient and accurate study of his character and idiosyncrasies, his customs, and his institutions.

THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

She recognised the imperial work and destiny of her race. She honoured such men as the weaker races everywhere honour—as John Bright, W. E. Gladstone, John Morley, Frederick Harrison; but she saw that the genius and imperial work of Great Britain—

even at times in its military aspect—were necessary in the permanent interest of humanity, and that while the nation could not be prevented from obeying its calling and the impulses of its instincts, it might, by accurate knowledge, be prevented from inflicting in the prosecution of its work unnecessary evils upon races who come under its control. This knowledge on behalf of the African she strove to impart; and it is this knowledge which the African Society (founded in memory of her), with the Marquis of Ripon as its president, taking up her mantle, was established to diffuse. The members of this society believe that intimate knowledge of, sympathy with, and, therefore, access to the heart of the people governed, are more truly divine conditions of Government than superior might or wisdom without those qualifications. The work of the African Society, therefore cannot be regarded as divorced from the imperial idea. Its *raison d'être* is to recognise that idea, and, if possible, to adjust it upon the only true basis upon which any idea can be stable and fruitful, and not fitful and mischievous, and that is the

basis of knowledge, of truth, of justice, and of righteousness.

THE IMPENETRABLENESS OF AFRICA.

For thousands of years Africa has been the object of European curiosity and effort, but with results so little satisfactory to the ancients that, notwithstanding the great conquests of Rome on that continent, in spite of her overthrow of the mightiest State that ever held sway over the destinies of that land, Augustus Cæsar, who reigned during the most flourishing period of the Eternal City, in his last will and testament advised the Romans never to invade Africa.

There are but scanty records of the ancient history of the west and north-west portions of that continent. We have glimpses of the Mediterranean coast, but no data by which to trace the early conditions of inter-tropical Africa. After the fall of Carthage, had the Romans not been so much carried away by vindictive impulses, had they allowed the ample records of the Carthaginian Empire to survive the wreck of the State of Hamilcar,

Hannibal, and Hanno, we should now be in possession of data which might help to suggest new methods or modify existing methods of dealing with the African problem. But, alas, we know nothing of those brilliant periods which witnessed in Equatorial Africa the exploits of Hanno, or the expeditions of King Solomon. Our knowledge of the past begins with the enterprises of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century; they, followed by the Spaniards, made noble efforts to open up and improve the western portions of the continent. But the discovery of America turned them from their exploitations. Columbus lived at Elmina, on the Gold Coast, and it is said at Benin, before he undertook his great journey for the discovery of a new continent. Notwithstanding the vast and expensive preparations put on foot at that time by Portugal for occupying Africa, Columbus saw that the country was impossible for European colonisation. The same instinct, or inspiration, that attracted him westward in search of new countries, repelled him from West Africa as a home for his race. Elmina, now more than

four hundred years old, where he planned his trans-Atlantic enterprise, is still only a trading village, hardly ever visited even by the omnipresent steamers of Elder, Dempster & Co.

So far as the past relations of Europe and Africa are concerned, the views of Mr. Meredith Townsend, in his interesting book recently published on "Asia and Europe," might apply. "The fusion of the continents," says Mr. Townsend, "has never occurred," and in the author's best judgment will never occur.

> "The East bowed low before the blast,
> In patient, deep disdain,
> She let the legions thunder past,
> Then plunged in thought again."

When the Most High divided the nations, and their inheritance, and when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the peoples; and so far as Africa and Asia are concerned, those bounds will never be obliterated or permanently transcended.

We are now living in days of more serious and comprehensive attempts to deal with Africa. Science, we are told, is an irresistible agency, overcoming all things, and, therefore,

it is urged, what the ancients could not accomplish, what 400 years of modern effort has not been able to effect, will now be realised by scientific appliances.

MODERN EFFORT IN WEST AFRICA.

I believe in the future extensive relations—amicable and fruitful and permanent relations—between Europe and Africa, but I believe that to bring these relations about and to foster them for the mutual good of the two continents, two facts, the one physical and the other political, upon which Miss Kingsley frequently and justly insisted, must be recognised by the people of both countries—by Europeans on the one side, and by Africans on the other. The facts are these:—

"First.—Tropical Africa is unfit, and will, as long as astronomical conditions are as they are, remain unfit for colonisation by a white population.

Secondly.—It is a region suitable for European trade colonization.

"The extension of our Empire there," said Miss Kingsley, "does not necessarily mean

subjugating the native and taking from him his lands and property, and the men up here who may so engineer our Imperialism are not true Imperialists; they are remainders over from the Councillors who sent his late Majesty Philip of Spain down the road to ruin. This policy of creating an agrarian grievance in tropical Africa is a policy neither profitable nor just; there is neither gold nor good in it, and it is one you will not pursue if you will give the same amount of earnest thought and consideration to Imperialism that you give to the grievances of cyclists about the state of the roads. On the other hand, with those who say we have no moral right to take over the whole of tropical Africa, I have no sympathy. . . . . There is a thing in tropical Africa, even in the most highly developed native part, West Africa that no native has, so in taking it, we are not stealing it from him. That thing is the Oberhoheit. There is no English word for it—it means the power to rule at the top of things, the power to enforce peace among peoples, to secure commercial communication, and provide an ultimate court of appeal in

matters of justice, to be king over kings, ruler over many peoples. This power that we steal from no one, we have every right to have—it does not need to steal the natives' land. The other policy we can pursue in tropical Africa, the Landeshoheit, is one we have neither right to, nor use for, in tropical Africa. What we want there is not Landehoheit, but Oberhoheit. It is not imperially necessary for us to steal the natives' land in deadly West Africa, and give the true Negroes in their home an agrarian grievance . . . . . if you must steal things, for goodness' sake steal something useful."

GREAT BRITAIN IN WEST AFRICA.

Now let us consider the agencies which are at present in operation for the practical and effective amelioration of conditions in West Africa. We must regard, as first and foremost, the civil or political agencies. It must be admitted—it cannot be denied—that they have effected during the last century, especially during the Victorian era, wonderful revolutions in that portion of the continent. Great Britain has been the most strenuous and self-denying

of the political agencies, but, owing to climatic hindrances, which have not been friendly to a continuity of policy, based upon an accurate apprehension of things, the British Government has not achieved the results which a hundred years of contact ought to have effected. The policy, for the most part, has been one of *laissez faire*. The fact is, that during the greater part of the century which has just expired, time and money and lives were devoted to getting the slave trade out of the way, and counteracting its disintegrating effects. When that diabolical system had been destroyed both by British naval enterprise and the downfall of slavery in America, both the great English political parties came to the conclusion that the policy of England should look to a gradual withdrawal from West Africa, excepting probably Sierra Leone, leaving the natives to the government of themselves.

This decision was owing also to the expectation that the extinction of slavery in America would lead—as was indeed suggested in one of President Lincoln's Messages—to a whole-

sale emigration of deported blacks from America to the fatherland, and the idea in the minds of these statesmen probably was to place no hindrance in the way of this influx of repatriates. But when it was found that the peculiarities and exigencies of American politics would detain the blacks in the land of their exile for time indefinite, and when the "earth hunger" referred to by Lord Ripon the other day began to take possession of certain Continental powers, compelling Bismarck, that far-seeing statesman of "blood and iron," to suggest an international conference to discuss the situation in that vast "no man's land," as it was called; and when, as a result of that conference, a partition of Africa was made on the map, then England began to realise the mistake of her *laissez faire* policy, and to awake to her rights and duties in connection with West Africa. Within the last few years a great statesman has come to the front at the Colonial Office who, impatient of the slumber of years and the *laches* of the past, has brought unaccustomed, we may say abnormal, activity to the "development of that portion of the

estates of the Empire," which has lain fallow for generations, nay for thousands of years. Then the pendulum, having swung too far to the left, was made, for a time, to swing too far to the right. But it is now happily regaining its normal oscillation, and fruitful and beneficent are the prospects before England and the native owners of these "undeveloped estates." Next to England in protracted political work in West Africa is France.

FRANCE IN WEST AFRICA.

France has a peculiar work to do for West Africa—a work much needed, and suited to the genius of the Celtic race. It was my privilege a few months ago to visit the French Ivory Coast—regions which, before the Franco-Liberian Treaty of 1892, were in Liberian territory, and I was not only satisfied, but delighted with the results so far of French administration upon the life and prospects of the natives. I made careful enquiries of civilised native traders from Sierra Leone and other settlements on the Coast who came on board the steamer from the various trading

stations, as to their condition and opportunities under French rule. They all emphasised the fact of the encouragement and assistance afforded them in the prosecution of their enterprise by the local authorities. I was at first somewhat sceptical as to the result on the native population of the transfer of those territories from Liberia to France, but after actual observation all my doubts were removed. France is doing her part to pacify West Africa, to improve her material condition, and to give an opportunity for permanent progress to the sons of the soil.

The contribution of the French to the civilisation of Africa evidently springs not only from what they have in common with all mankind, but from what is special to themselves. France is France, England is England. France can do for Africa what England cannot do, and England can do for Africa what France cannot do. This all thinking Africans recognise, and all gladly co-operate with each nation according to the measure in which their systems accord with native ideas and native customs and traditions. And there seems to be more of

this conformity in the French methods than in the more rigid and unimaginative system of the Anglo-Saxon. Whatever there is among the natives of original, racy, or romantic interest is not perishing under French administration, therefore Miss Kingsley chose, as the proper field for her researches into West African life and character, the French settlements. And to the credit of the French this must be said: that Miss Kingsley should have been able to suffer the physical discomforts, the social and intellectual inconveniences, and the mental strain inseparable from the effort to acquire that wide and profound knowledge which she exhibited of the religion of the natives and the meaning of their customs, was owing not less to the French *régime* than to her own unique and incomparable genius.

The next important political agency in West Africa is comparatively a new comer.

GERMANY IN WEST AFRICA.

The Germans have only recently entered the field, but, as apt pupils, have already mastered the situation. They are taking their part with

intelligence, energy, and capital. In commercial thoroughness and success only the English are their superiors. Their steamers are found in every inlet and outlet along the Coast. Their settlements in Togoland, adjoining the Gold Coast Colony, are becoming important centres of trade. Not long ago these settlements were only clusters of native huts. Little Popo is rapidly increasing in material position. In March last, when I visited it, I saw large buildings of recent construction, or in progress of construction, in the latest European style of beauty and solidity, but adapted to the climate. They are chiefly Government buildings, for offices and official residences, a few trading factories, with groups of native houses interspersed, and extensive groves of cocoanut trees in the background. There are two churches here, and a large, commodious, abundantly equipped hospital, with ample grounds for cattle, and a fine vegetable garden. A skilful physician of many years' experience on the Coast presides. I counted from the deck of the steamer betwen forty and *fifty head of* cattle grazing near the

hospital. Hither come invalids from the neighbouring settlements for rest, attention, and recuperation. There are as yet visible no signs of segregation. Lome, the other German settlement of importance in these parts, has a similar development and gives a similar promise. I learnt that the experiments in cotton culture by American experts was being vigorously prosecuted. There are other though smaller German settlements in Togoland, all proving by the activity visible in them that Germany is in West Africa to stay, and come to give her desirable quota to its development and prosperity.

WHERE THE SAFETY OF AFRICA LIES.

I have briefly called attention to the work in which the three greatest of the European Powers are engaged, each pursuing its own course, in its own way, of its own lines, with apparently very little heed on the work of, or sympathy with the others. I have sometimes felt that the safety of the African lies in the antagonism among themselves of the invaders *of his country*! but I have also felt that the

European traders and other agencies on the Coast would be able to accomplish more for uniform and permanent progress if there were more of mutual sympathy and trust among them. Notwithstanding the alleged partition of Africa, those who travel along the West Coast can detect little of practical occupation. Hundreds of miles sometimes intervene between individual Europeans, and these individuals often of different nationalities. It is difficult to see how, under such circumstances, *i.e.*, the constant striving for ascendency or precedence in trade or politics on the part of restless and divergent individualities, and the absence of any concurrent interest, there can be any sustained, any concentrated, influence, upon the African or his country. I had an example of the absence of any common sentiments during my voyage along the Coast a few months ago to which I have referred. At nearly every port at which we stopped we found that a German steamer was either in port or had just left, taking the cargo which had perhaps been promised to our enterprising skipper. On arriving at a port, which shall

here be nameless, the captain eagerly dressed himself, not trusting now to the second mate, to go ashore in search of a cargo, having to confront a heavy surf. When he returned somewhat damaged by the waves, I said, "Well, Captain, did you succeed?" "Not much," he answered, resignedly. "There is only one white man ashore there: that is Swanzy's agent, the others are Germans." Everybody is a foreigner to the ordinary Englishman. He is always the centre. Beyond him all are outsiders. Even so enlightened a person as Miss Kingsley confessed to something of the same feeling. And there is sometimes this parochial feeling in the Englishman with regard to different sections of his own country. Some years ago I arrived in the Mersey in one of the steamers from the Coast, which had taken in a number of passengers at Madeira. We were anchored for some time in the river, waiting for the health officer to board the ship. For some reason or other he was detained on shore or somewhere else beyond the usual time. While most of the passengers were silently grumbling, a

nervous Londoner who had come off at Madiera, unchastened by the discipline gained on the Coast by necessary and unnecessary delays, and anxious to catch a particular train, walked up and down the deck in great irritation, exclaiming, "This is why I hate to come to these foreign ports; in London we should have been ashore long ago."

The next political agency in West Africa, and, without doubt, the least *in esse*, though of large promise *in posse*, is the Republic of Liberia.

THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

This young nation is making a heroic struggle to hold her position; but, of course, owing to her methods so far, growing out of her peculiar circumstances, she will continue the struggle, and with no other result than a struggle unless she abandons those methods which contradict the tendencies of modern requirements. She must *nolens volens* be drawn ultimately into the whirlpool of foreign activities which surround her. Yet the Republic cannot be said to have failed, nor, considering her rich and valuable resources, can

she be said to be bankrupt. Her first citizens—the founders of the Colony and the organisers of the new State—were Negro emigrants from America fresh from conditions far from favourable to the development of manhood and self-reliance. They, nevertheless, after a leadership of less than thirty years, assumed the reins of Government in 1847. Everybody will remember that striking picture which appeared in *Punch* not many years ago, called "Dropping the Pilot." It was an impressive picture, and the whole civilised world was moved to mingled emotions by it. It was impressive because of its suggestiveness. It was a symbol of separation between the past and the future. It was considered that the new captain who was to take the helm of the ship was inexperienced. Great destinies hung upon that event. Something like this, in its seriousness, was that which took place on July 26, 1847, when the Liberian craft took leave of its leader and guide of thirty years. The little ship ventured upon the sea of nationality, and for a time

ed without recognition. The mother

country, owing to its "peculiar institutions," could not even signal its welcome to the new born baby. England, in the person of Lord Palmerston, espied the new craft, tossed on a boisterous sea, wondered at its temerity, but on close inspection thought it showed "the promise and potency of life," and gave the inexperienced pilot at the helm, in the name of Great Britain, a master's certificate. This was soon endorsed by France, then by Germany, and other Powers. For half a-century this craft, amid various and trying vicissitudes, has been holding its own "by the hardest," as they say in America. She has had to confront "rock and tempest roar," but her greatest perils have arisen from "false lights along the shore." She has now come to the parting of the ways Two channels are before her. She must arrive at a decision or suffer worse things. Those who launched the ship have all passed away. Their successors now on the deck are not immigrants, but the children of immigrants, all educated in Liberia The President and his Cabinet, the Justices of the Supreme Court, the members of the Legisla-

ture, the Commissioners now in England, all received their training in the Republic. Now it must appear that there must have been, or must be, an affluence of educational facilities in Liberia to have produced such results. It is evidence, also, that a country which has done so much might be able to do more if she will avail herself of the assistance and co-operation of which a past mistaken policy has deprived her. That she is anxious to eschew the short-sighted policy of the past, the presence of her Commissioners in England is proof; and we may safely predict that the Republic will before long range itself among the progressive and productive agencies of the times.

LIBERIA, "A BRITISH COLONY IN EVERYTHING BUT THE FLAG."

And what, it appears to me, should have practical interest for every British subject, is that Liberia is a British Colony in everything but the flag. We have everything that the Union Jack symbolises, except its financial significance And this we are now appealing you to assist us to get. We have the

language, the laws, the literature of Great Britain. All the prominent men of the Republic supply themselves regularly with the leading organs of British public opinion. *Times*, *Daily News*, *Standard*, *Telegraph*, &c., with the *Liverpool Mercury*, *Post*, *Courier*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Spectator*, *Saturday Review*, *West Africa*, &c., circulate in Liberia side by side with the *New York Tribune*, *Sun*, *Evening Post*, &c. Standard English and American books are in our libraries. Indignation and an abhorrence at the recent dastardly attack on Mr. McKinley will be felt as keenly in Liberia as in Liverpool. We read a greater variety of English literature than many an Englishman in England Liberia, then, is an independent English-African State in Africa. We would not if we could, and we could not if we would, alienate our intellectual allegiance to Great Britain, for that allegiance is a guarantee of political and religious liberty and stimulus to the highest possible human attainment. We consider it to be a great privilege to say

"We speak the language Shakespeare spake,"

even if we cannot add, with regard to the whole of our population, "we hold the truth and morals Milton held." And I do not see why we should not, for Milton was an all-round man in politics as well as in religion.

THE COMMERCIAL AGENCY IN WEST AFRICA.

The next agency in operation in West Africa which makes for improvement is the commercial agency. The observant stranger who visits London for the first time is struck with those remarkable words over the entrance to the Royal Exchange, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." And the Divine Creator and proprietor has seen fit to place this fulness at the command of the children of Japheth; God shall enlarge Japheth and to him He has given the means for the distribution of the earth's resources in the interest of humanity. In the hands of China, Japan, India, or Africa, the resources would not be distributed. And that branch of the Japhetic race which is most prosperous is that branch which is most liberal in its method of distribution, which unfetters commerce and

breaks down the barriers of trade. The possibilities for European commerce in West Africa are practically unlimited, and England has done more than any other nation to create, foster, and develop commerce in that country, and England will, as is justly her due, reap most of its rewards in future.

But this work of distribution, of development cannot be pushed without help—without subordinate assistance. And the procuring of this assistance brings up the labour question.

THE LABOUR QUESTION.

Labour, like every other exchangeable commodity, adjusts itself in Africa, as elsewhere, to the law of supply and demand. In former days labour in West Africa was abundant and cheap, because there was comparatively no demand for it. In still earlier times it was a drug, and was in inexhaustible quantities exported to the Western Hemisphere to help build up the waste places in the New World. But now times have changed, and men have changed with them. By your irrepressible enterprise, your genius for commerce, you have

introduced conditions which have increased, and are continually increasing, the demand for labour. But it is plentiful for the purchaser who will pay the price for it. One of the drawbacks to the supply, it seems to me, lies with some of those wishing this labour. They are surprised that people in the bush should not submit to the price they lay down and are willing to pay. They think that, as it seems to them, these men are houseless and without clothes, they ought to welcome everything brought to them in the way of what are considered necessaries in Europe, and pay for the privilege of working to get those things from those who import them. But the only thing necessary and indispensable for the existence of man in that tropical garden of Eden is food. If he only dresses the garden and keeps it, he can get his apron leaves or his coat of skin which he often can do without, and the trees of the garden yield him all the year round more than enough for his food with the slightest effort on his part. The wearing of clothes is optional with him. Like the happy pair in the Garden of Eden, he needs clothes only

when he has touched the tree of knowldege. I have travelled through regions in the hinterland of Seirra Leone and Liberia, where the greater part of the population wear no clothes at all, where indeed it is fashionable not to wear clothes, where a woman appearing in what in Europe is called full dress would be an impertinence. The *Spectator* a few weeks ago (August 24), has a few very appropriate remarks on this subject. "We are too apt to think," says that able journal, "that people who have not our special brand of civilisation are pining for it, and would adopt it at once if only they knew how. In reality, they very often despise the very things we think specially important, and would regard with horror and as something *per se* degrading what we believe to be the proofs of the higher culture." The *Spectator* says that, and it is true.

THE UNPRACTICALITY OF FORCE AS A MEANS OF PROCURING LABOUR.

Civilisation increases human wants and human needs. There are some things that the civilised man in Europe must have and he

procures them at any cost. Civilisation has attained its highest point where nature forces man to work. Certain luxuries in these countries become necessities. The tropical man is in the condition of the wealthy heir. He has everything ready to his hand. No climatic whip urges him on. Why then should he work unless he wishes to? The man of the temperate region or the cultured man anywhere has no option; his needs are inexorable and must be supplied. We had, during the American Civil War, an impressive illustration of the stern and unyielding demands of civilised conditions. Cotton was king in those days. He held absolute sway over the manufacturing and commercial markets. The New England manufacturer and New York merchant actually sent across the Atlantic and purchased cotton in Liverpool, the cotton which they could not do without, but could no longer procure from New Orleans and Mobile. Of course, the quantities they got were small, but I am calling attention to the fact of the pressure imposed upon them by the conditions. So you are creating conditions in Africa in which

you must have labour; therefore, if you expect permanent success, you must pay for it.

Some are advocating compulsory labour—the compound system in vogue in South Africa Surely the present conditions in South Africa should furnish no encouragement for the adoption in West Africa of any of the methods adopted by the enterprise of Europe towards the natives of that country.

I must again invoke the endorsement of the *Spectator* as to the untoward consequences which must follow any unjust or cruel treatment of the natives; how they who sow the wind reap the whirlwind in Africa as elsewhere. In opening a very striking article on "The Boers and the Natives," the Editor, writing in the spirit of a true prophet, says :—

"In Mr. Lincoln's Second Inaugural—perhaps the most soul-shaking piece of oratory in the English language—occurs a memorable passage in regard to the continuation of the war. Mr. Lincoln speaks with passionate earnestness of his desire that the scourge of war may speedily pass away; but then, like some

inspired prophet of the Hebrews, he dwells on the treatment of the Negroes by the Southerners, and declares that it may be that it is God's will that the war shall continue until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword."

As one reads Mrs. Heckford's letter to the *Times* of Monday, dealing with the treatment of the Kaffirs by the Boers, it is impossible to prevent the words recurring to the mind, "We all long for the war to cease. . . ." We wonder, with Mr. Lincoln, whether the war must go on "until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword."

Wrongs have been committed by Englishmen upon the natives—cruel things have been done. But they have not been done in accordance with the settled policy, as the *Spectator* shows, of the British nation. This remarkable article closes with the following solemn warning to all European exploiters of Africa.

"The white man, in the presence of the black, can only save himself and his skin from a *most* subtle, moral deterioration, if he

keeps up the highest standard of humanity in his dealings with the inferior race. If he once gives way to the domination of cruelty. and rules as an arbitrary owner and not as a trustee, the ultimate fate of the white man is sealed. He must be no sentimentalist and no phrase-monger in dealing with the black, but he must never give way to the fatal dram-drinking of arbitariness and cruelty."

THE INDIVIDUAL AGENCY IN WEST AFRICA.

The next agency at work in West Africa is what I call the personal or individual agency. After all, the great movements which have affected humanity have been brought about by persons. Principles and systems are of little use without their embodiment in a person. The fact is, individuals become principles and often a person is a system. If you will let your minds go back for a moment, you will find that the initiation of every great movement has been entrusted by the Almighty to a committee of one, with power to act. Think of Noah and the Ark, of Moses and the emancipation of the Hebrews, of Columbus and

America, of the Reformation and Luther, of the application of electricity and Edison. One man. So now, there is one man moving, with grand strength, matters on the material side in West Africa. The imagination of the ancients when they wished to depict extraordinary activity and comprehensive sagacity as the possession of a single individual, simply multiplied the organs or members of the body. They invented giants of wonderful size and abnormal strength. They gave us a Briareus, with his hundred arms, and Argos, with his hundred eyes. If Homer were writing now with full knowledge of the President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, with his multifarious and wonderful activities, he would invent a man of wonderful strides and irresistible elbowing power, treading his onward way through the crowd, undisputed and unimpeded, by the force of an irresistible magnetism before which all resistance gives way. Not that there are no other individual agencies at work in West Africa. We have a few very strong men —very good men, working with intelligence, earnestness, and effectiveness. But they all,

with one accord, acknowledge the vast and unapproachable labours, the inexhaustible resourcefulness of Mr. Alfred Lewis Jones.

THE PHILANTHROPIC AGENCY IN WEST AFRICA.

The next agency in operation in Africa is what we must call the philanthropic agency, including the missionary work. Much has been written and is being written on this subject. No one can dispute the nobleness, the greatness, of the missionary enterprise in its aims and purposes, and often in its emissaries and agents. For a hundred years, it has poured out of its best, of men and money, of prayers and tears, but so far with but moderate success, and with little prospect of any larger results in the future. It is very generally admitted now that the methods have been defective. The opening of the twentieth century has been marked by earnest discussion of this subject. In England two very important works have been published within the last three months, which show the tendency of religious and philosophic thought in relation to the schemes of the Church for

dealing with the non-Christian races. These books emphasise the increasing feeling against the indiscriminate attempt to change the psychological condition of any people, and to rashly abolish their social or traditional arrangements. One is "Asia and Europe," by Mr. Meredith Townsend; the other, bearing the curiously insufficient title of "Varia," is by Professor William Knight, of the University of St. Andrews.

NATIVES AMENABLE TO OTHER WEAPONS BESIDES MAXIMS AND MARTINIS.

Time will not allow me to consider the other agencies, but in conclusion, I may venture upon the following reflection. If England, as the foremost power in West Africa—longer in the field and more abundant in labour and sacrifice—could rise to the full height of her magnificent Imperial destiny, which in Africa at all events might be easily fulfilled without fire or sword, but by the intellectual, moral, and material influences which she could bring to bear on the people, there would be no need of Ashanti or Soudan or any other wars.

Livingstone and other travellers of his spirit and temper have proved how amenable Africans are to other weapons than Maxim guns and Martini rifles. It has been fully shown that, if necessary, Africans can fight, and fight effectively, but England, with her superior civilization and culture, not to mention her religion, ought never to allow it to be necessary. If wars and fighting come, the fault is largely not in the natives, who are everywhere more disposed to regard the representatives of Great Britain in the light of friends and guests, whose presence among them is a protection and an ornament, than as masters or despots. British gold can do more for Africa than British arms. The only war that the natives gladly welcome is the war organised by the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, and now being vigorously prosecuted, the war against poison-bearing mosquitos. Whatever the outcome, whether the scientific theory in its details is established by these efforts or not, good and good only for Africa's future must be the result.

ISLAM IN WESTERN SOUDAN.*

There is at the present moment probably no question of deeper practical interest to the European Powers, who for political and commercial objects have partitioned Africa among themselves, than the question of Islam in Soudan, both Eastern and Western. The elaborate Report of Sir Frederick Lugard, High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, presented to Parliament in February, 1902, is almost of pathetic interest, considering the vastness of the area and the multitudinous Muslim population under his rule, and having regard also to the slender outfit at his command for administrative work. Public attention, in a most unusual degree, has been

*Article reprinted from Journal of West African Society, October, 1902.

attracted to that important region, recently brought within the British Empire.

Civilisation, within the last fifty years, has advanced with rapid strides, and the solidarity of humanity is being more and more recognised. Religion and race are ceasing to be barriers between man and man. "The steamship and the railway, and the thoughts that shake mankind," are annihilating distances and reducing differences and distinctions between communities alien to each other and living in various climes and countries. The AFRICAN SOCIETY is an offspring and illustration of the spirit of the times. So far as Africa is concerned, Miss Kingsley, whose memory it commemorates, has created a new standpoint for European thought. She has made it possible for African conditions, whether intellectual social or religious, to be studied by outsiders with patience and without prejudice; and the impulse she has given in that righteous direction will never be spent, because if the human intellect in its investigations can only be made to hold the scale with steady hand, whatever the interests involved, it will arrive at know-

ledge which will act at once as guide and stimulus to further research; and the more men can be made to look at new and fresh landscapes in the intellectual as in the physical world, the more they see, and the more they see the more they desire to see.

It is with these views that I venture to invite the readers of this Journal to a consideration of the question of ISLAM IN WESTERN SOUDAN. It is not possible to fix the exact date when that irrepressible faith first entered this portion of Africa; and for the purposes of this discussion a knowledge of that chronological fact is not indispensable. It is sufficient to know that it has behind it in those vast regions a history of centuries. It is an agency which, operating for at least a thousand years in this land, has been the most effective instrument in moulding the intellectual, social, and political character of the millions whom it has brought under its influence; and yet in its particular work in Soudan—the special phases it presents—it has rarely been studied by the foreigner with anything like insight or thoroughness.

The generality of European writers on the subject take it for granted that there is no need for giving special attention to Islam in Africa, for it must only be an imitation if not caricature of Islam in Arabia, just as they allege that Christianity among Negroes must always be of a degenerate quality.

At the "Parliament of Religions," held in Chicago in 1893, there were no representatives of Negraic Mohammedanism to tell the story of their faith. Two years ago, an Ecumenical Missionary Conference was held in New York, at which there were delegates from every part of the mission field, and all the contemporary religions of the world were discussed in their effects upon their votaries. But no information was given as to Islam in Soudan. No fewer than one dozen speakers, Missionaries and Secretaries of Missionary Societies, dealt with the general question, but no one attempted to describe Islam as it exists in Negroland. A great deal was said of Africa, and a great deal about Mohammedanism, but of Mohammedans in Soudan almost nothing, because no one in that vast gathering knew anything

about it at first hand, and very few at second hand.

As at present advised, I know of only two books in the English language which, written by foreigners, have attempted to deal with Islam in Soudan. They are Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*,[1] and Atterbury's *Islam in Africa*,[2] and both these writers confess to having written at second hand. Mr. Arnold is professor of philosophy in the Anglo-Mohammedan College at Aligarh in India. Dr. Atterbury is pastor of the Park Presbyterian Church in New York. In his preface Professor Arnold says: "I can neither claim to be an authority nor a specialist on any of the periods of the history dealt with in this book." Dr. Atterbury, in opening his preface, says:—"Perhaps the writer was the better prepared to undertake this investigation from some personal observation of Mohammedanism in India, Egypt and the Turkish Empire"

I cannot but sympathise with these courageous writers in the difficulties which confronted

[1] Constable, London.

[2] Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

them at the outset of their inquiries. They had never themselves been in Africa, and it is presumable had never conversed with any intelligent Negro Muslim on the subject of his faith. Prof. Arnold allows his readers to see both sides of the question. He presents the arguments for and against Islam in Africa without drawing himself any damaging conclusions. Dr. Atterbury produces an array of statements which he takes to be facts, and from these arrives at the conclusion that Islam in Africa makes, on the whole, for evil and not good. He assumes that "Islam in Central Africa, is little more than a slightly modified fetichism."[1] And he has had followers in this view among his countrymen. Mr. Frederic Perry Noble of Chicago adopts this opinion in his voluminous work on *The Redemption of Africa*,[2] and reproduces the statement made thirty years ago in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* "that all Mussulman Negroes who have read the Quran can be accommodated in the waiting room of Euston station," and "that the priests them-

[1] *Islam in Africa*, p. 149.

[2] Fleming H. Revell Company, Chicago.

selves cannot distinguish between 'mumpsimus,' and 'sumpsimus' when they jabber, and do not attempt to understand other Arabic books."[1] Mr. Noble did an enormous and creditable amount of work in journeys to and fro, in advertisements, in correspondence and other literary effort to qualify himself to become an authority on "The Redemption of Africa." He did everything but *travel in Africa*. His whole book is, therefore, a striking illustration of the sentiment from Emerson prefixed to his "Author's Note." "Our books are false by being fragmentary." I may say, in passing, my own experience, and I may venture to add, the experience of numerous competent travellers in Soudan—including Barth, Thomson, Binger, Dubois, Chevallier—English, German, French, does not confirm the general description of Islam given by Atterbury and Noble. There is, however, on the part of Dr. Atterbury evident earnestness and sincerity; while he never hesitates to call what he thinks a spade a spade, he seems always disposed to acknowledge the merits of what he believes to be

[1] *The Redemption of Africa*, vol. i. p. 73.

genuine metal. He never calls Mohammed an impostor or a false prophet. On the contrary, in his opening chapter he says of "the Great Arabian" "He was a true prophet; rather he was a prophet of some truth." In this he differs from the eminent student and scholar who introduces the book. Dr. Ellinwood, to whom one must always listen with respect, speaks of the "pettifogging character" of the Koran. The doctor for the moment probably lost sight of the fact that it was not the Koran he had read but a *translation* of the Koran, two very different things.[1] I am glad that Dr. Atterbury, who represents the younger school of theological thought, is an American of high social and literary standing, because there are millions of people in his country who have a practical interest in this great question; and he is himself a descendant of philanthro-

[1] "It is, in truth, one of the most illusory of conceits to fancy that by verbal transference, a correct counterpart is obtained of the idea and spirit of a passage. A translation may be etymologically perfect, and yet no more give the force of the original, than the awkward dancing of a bear represents the graceful pirouettes of the ballet."—*The Mohammedan Controversy*, by Sir William Muir, p. 194.

pists who did a great deal to establish and foster the Republic of Liberia, and to give to the Negro an opportunity in his own fatherland of untrammelled development.

The books of the greatest value on Islam in Africa and most easily accessible are in the French language. The works of Idrisu, Ibn Batuta; Leo Africanus, written in Arabic from 300 to 1000 years ago, have been translated into French and are still standard authorities on the subject. The *Tarik e Soudan*, an Arabic work of Soudanic authorship, which has recently come into the field, perhaps the most exhaustive on the history of Islam in Negroland, because the work of the natives themselves, is not generally known to English-speaking people, and was, until recently, inaccessible through any European language. It is due to the learning, zeal, and energy of the distinguished French Orientalist, M. Houdas, that European scholars can now become acquainted with one of the most important works ever produced in Negroland. The eminent Professor, with prodigious labour and complete success, triumphed over almost

insuperable difficulties to give us this valuable work in an admirable French translation. "*The Tarik e Soudan*," says M. Dubois,[1] "is conceived upon a perfectly clear and logical plan, according to the most correct rules of literary composition . . . . It forms, with the exception of the holy writings, the favourite of the Negro, and is known to the farthest extremity of Western Africa, from the shores of the Niger to the borders of Lake Chad. Barth discovered fragments of it at Gando, and I heard it spoken of in Senegal."

On the general question of Islam, three works since the publication of Muir's *Life of Mahomet* in 1858 have influenced the judgment of the present generation of European students of the subject, and have furnished them with a new, more accurate, and more fruitful point of view than had ever before prevailed in Europe. These works are: the remarkable articles on "Mahomet" and "The Great Arabian" by Mr. Meredith Townsend in the old *National Review*; the article on "Islam," first published in the *Quarterly*

[1] *Timbuctoo the Mysterious, pp.* 312-315.

Review and afterwards in the *Literary Remains* of Emanuel Deutsch; and *Mohammed and Mohammedanism* by Bosworth Smith. All writers on the subject during the last thirty years—the most belated critics—whether conscious or not—have been more or less under the restraining or stimulating guidance of these works.

I will now say a few words on the faith itself as understood by its intelligent Negro adherents, and then on the practical consequences of their belief upon character and conduct. I have been in close contact with the system and teachers during the last thirty years, both officially as diplomat representing the British Government, making treaties with Islamic chiefs or as educator establishing schools among them. I have discussed religious questions for hours with their Ulemas—Foulahs, Mandingoes, Yorubas. I have studied African compositions both in prose and poetry, bearing upon the *Deen* as they love to call Islam.

The *Kalimah*. According to the best informed representatives of the faith in Negro-

land, the seven words of the Kalimah, or fundamental creed of the religion, are much misunderstood by Christain writers on the subject. The words of the original are

لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا ٱللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ ٱللّٰهِ

La ilaha ill Allahu. Mohammed rasul Allah.

Mr. Gibbon, whom probably the majority of Christian students follow, describes Islam as follows :

"The faith which, under the name of Islam, Mohammed preached to his family and nation, is compounded of an eternal truth and a necessary fiction : That there is only one God, and that Mohammed is the Apostle of God." [1]

Gibbon was entirely mistaken in regarding the faith as "compounded." It is this that has misled all who follow his guidance. Even writers acquainted with Arabic have surrendered their judgment to the witchery of his grandiose periods. As far as we can gather he was not acquainted with Arabic. His estimate of Islam was to a great extent the result of the imaginings of early youth.

[1] *Decline and Fall, Chap. 50.*

"Before I was sixteen," he tells us in his autobiography, "I had exhausted all that could be learned in English of the Arabs and the Persians, the Tartars and Turks; and the same ardour urged me to guess at the French of d'Herbelot and to construe the barbarous Latin of Pocock's *Abulfargius*." Macaulay speaks of "that unpleasant trick, which Gibbon brought into fashion, the trick we mean, of telling a story by implication and allusion."[1] And yet he has wielded for more than a century an irresistible spell over ardent and generous youth. Mr. Perry Noble says in a note, "Imperial Gibbon's grand style may have unconsciously influenced the author of these volumes. If so, he would be fain to ackowledge his indebtedness in the words of Dante to Virgil: *Thou art my master and the author of my style.*[2] But students do not nowadays go to Gibbon either for "style" or opinions about religion; and it is difficult to understand what he could teach bearing upon the "Redemption of Africa."

[1] *Essay on Hallam.* [2] *The Redemption of Africa*, p. xv.

Dr. Atterbury gives what he believes to be the doctrine of Islam "from the highest authority in the world," the Sheik-ul-Islam.[1] In giving the Kalimah the translator misrepresents the words of the original, adopting the usual phrase, 'there is only one God, and Mohammed is His prophet." We can sympathise with Dr. Atterbury when Dr. H. U. Weitbrecht, a Church Missionary in India, and long resident in Mohammedan lands, makes the astounding statement that in Islam "God and the prophet are coupled together as objects of faith."[2] The most elementary knowledge of Islam should have prevented so gross an error. According to African Muslims the idea is in the last degree blasphemous. But Mr. Townsend in his article on "Mahomet"[3] expressed a somewhat similar view, pardonable half a century ago, but inexcusable now in a writer of Dr. Weitbrecht's exceptional opportunities for learning the truth. Mr. Townsend said: "The crime of Mahomet

[1] *Islam in Africa*, p. 19.
[2] *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, Nov. 1899.
[3] *National Review*, July, 1858.

consists not in putting forth his commands to do justice and love mercy as the word of the Lord, but in asserting that he could never speak anything except that word."[1] Lord Houghton is more accurate. He says: "The humility of Mohammed in all that concerns his personality is conspicuous throughout the Koran. 'I do not say unto you, that in my possession are the treasures of God, nor that I know what is unseen; nor do I say unto you, Verily I am an angel,—I only follow what is revealed to me.' Sura vi-50. 'Mohammed is naught but an Apostle; other Apostles have passed away before him.' Sura iii-138. Nor does Mohammed even attribute to himself any specialty of nature such as he gives to Christ, whom he declares to have been born of a Virgin by the Spirit of God."[2]

Professor Arnold also represents the creed as one sentence.[3]

[1] I see that this sentence has not been reproduced in Mr. Townsend's able article on "The Great Arabian," in his interesting volume on *Asia and Europe*.

[2] *Poetical Works*, vol. i. p. 182.

[3] *Preaching of Islam*, p. 336.

He speaks of the "first half" of it and the "second half," and connects them by a copulative conjunction thus: "There is no God but God *and* Mohammed is the Prophet of God." But an accurate version would be "There is no God but *the* God," the Being whom or which all nations and races unconsciously worship. I say unconsciously, because none really know Him whose name, as Malachi says, "is great among the nations, and to Whose name in every house incense is offered and a pure offering"[1]—

> "Father of all! in every age,
> In every clime adored,
> By saint, by savage, and by sage,
> Jehovah, Jove or Lord!"

—the Lord, according to the opening chapter of the Koran, of the three worlds, the Merciful, the Compassionate, whose tender mercies are over all His works, rational and irrational; "Who maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."

The distinction between the two words

[1] Malachi, i 11.

translated God in the Kalimah is not to be indicated by merely writing the second word with a capital G. There are no capital letters in Arabic. The distinction is marked by the use before the second word of the definite article, which disappears in the ordinary translation.[1] Mr. Muir translates ALLAH by *the* LORD, retaining the article but departing from the radical signification of the word, unless we are to understand by "the Lord" the idea expressed by *Yahreh*, which would not be far from that intended by Al-ilah or Allah the God, the only Adorable One.

To translate, as is the common practice, "There is no God but God *and* Mohammed is His Prophet" is to introduce the anthropomorphic idea so strongly and everywhere repudiated in the Koran. The ideas conveyed in the two sentences are, according to African Muslims, unapproachably separate, and they can be connected by no conjunction either copulative or adversative. No pronoun representing the Supreme Being is admitted. There is no *His* and the word which describes

[1] *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 84.

Mohammed is not Prophet but Apostle—Messenger.

A correct translation of the second sentence of the Kalimah would be, "Mohammed is *an* Apostle of God," not *the* Apostle. The noun *rasul*, Apostle, has no article. Lane, than whom there is probably no higher authority, translates "Mohammed is God's Apostle."[1] Mohammed is related to have said that there were 124,000 Prophets and 313 Apostles or messengers[2] The Apostle may include the Prophet but the Prophet never includes the Apostle. Mohammed did not arrogate to himself, as some Christian controversialists and many Muslim commentators strive to make him do, the position of the *only* prophet or messenger of God. Nor did he teach, as some theologians among his countrymen try to assert for him, that he was the *last* of the prophets in the sense of the limitation of Divine communications to him and those before him. The passage of the Koran on which the latter assumption is based is Sura xxxiii. 40. "Mo-

[1] *Modern Egyptians*, chap. iii. [2] *Mischat-ul-Masabih*, book xxiv. chap. i.

hammed is not the father of any man among you, but an Apostle of God and a *seal* of the Prophets." The supporters of the opinion of the finality of Mohammed's revelations interpret *seal* as implying the closing for ever of the door of revelation, to be opened no more. On the other hand, there are those who interpret the word in the light of numerous other passages in the Koran, where Mohammed is called confirmer, corroborator, Amen sayer, to the teachings of preceding prophets, just as the seal is attached to legal instruments in testimony of the good faith of what has gone before, a theory which does not exclude the idea of Prophets and Apostles *after* Mohammed. The term *musadiqun*, corroborator, is also applied to Jesus and other prophets. The phrase "seal of the prophets," applied to Mohammed occurs only once in the Koran; and he is called *a* seal, not *the* seal as generally translated. Many Muslim writers in letters and more formal documents, instead of following the complimentary references to the Prophet by the phrase *la nabi ba'ād hu*, "after whom there is no prophet," use

Alkhatimu lima sabaka. the seal of what has gone before.

Mohammed then is, according to the teachings of the Koran, a Messenger, one of the Messengers, of the Supreme and Universal God. The Faith of Islam is neither Henotheism nor Sacerdotalism. It is not the worship of one God, as exclusively the God of the Arabs, adapted to and preferable for Arabia to all others, in the sense in which Cicero said, "Every State has its own god, and we have ours;" or as Elohim was at one time regarded by the Jews. Islam is monotheism, not only as contrasted with polytheism, but also as expressing the idea of universal, unapproachable, incomparable, and solitary supremacy. It is the worship of a Being without name or place or sex, not to be defined by human speech—the altogether Unknown. The Nazamiyah sect of Muslims[1] believe that it is lawful to speak of the Almighty as a thing, *shai'*. Paul spoke of "that which (the thing which) ye ignorantly worship." "The Power that makes for righteousness" is Arnold's well-known

[1] Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 568.

phrase, not *who* makes, etc.. The anthropomorphic tendency which would change the *which* in the Lord's Prayer to *who* to agree with its antecedent *Father*—a male Being—would probably be correct grammar, but, I venture to think, not sound science or philosophy. Science begins and ends with agnosticism. The process is, *Non sciri, non scio, non sciam*. I did not know, I do not know, I shall not know. To call a man distinguished for his knowledge a scientist or scientific man is from his standpoint a description of the *lucus a non lucendo* kind. "I suppose," said Darwin, "I must write myself down as an Agnostic." The Divine revelations, according to Islam, have no prescriptive or exclusive channels; no class are special intermediaries for the conveyance of Divine truth to mankind. No place is the chosen spot for the Divine teachings or worship,

The essence of the creed is not to be judged by the utterances of its ordinary votaries. There is a native dogmatism in human nature caused by fancying for one's self or one's teachers a private monopoly of God. Hence

there are Mohammedans, as there are Christians and Jews and Buddhists, who, inferior to the true teachings of their creed, cannot believe that God is where He is not reached by such paths as those they have been taught are the only paths that lead to Him.

All earnest students of Islam must recognize the justice of the following indignant and energetic criticism recorded by Mr. Townsend in 1858 and reproduced in 1901:—

"The living law of Mohammedanism is not to be found in the Koran, but in the commentators—a set of the most vicious scoundrels who ever disgraced humanity, whose first object seems to have been to relax the plain meaning of the original edicts as far as practicable."[1]

Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, a higher authority, at least a later witness, than Mr. Townsend, says:

"A large part of what Muslims now believe and practise is not to be found in the Koran at all . . . . For ourselves we prefer the Koran to the religion as it is now practised, and we

[1] *Asia and Europe*, p. 211.

are glad to think that we do not owe all the results of modern Islam to the sacred book on which it is supposed to rest. There is a peculiar simplicity about the Koran. . . . . It is the broken utterance of a human heart wholly incapable of disguise; and the heart was that of a man who has influenced the world as only One other has ever moved it."[1]

Whenever I refer educated African Muslims to frequent discrepancies between the teachings and examples of the Arabs and the plain doctrines of the Koran, they invariably reply in the language of the Koran itself (Sura ix—98);

الاعراب اشدّ كفراً ونفاقاً

Al Arab ashad kufran wa nifakan.

"The arabs are most stout in unbelief and hypocrisy, and are more likely not to know the bounds which God has sent down to His Apostle."

This passage has protected the Soudanic Muslims against undue reverence for the Arab and armed him against imposition from the

[1] *Studies in a Mosque*, pp. 167, 168.

wiles of the unscrupulous among the countrymen of the Prophet.

Mr. Lane Poole indirectly furnishes another proof of the sincerity of the prophet of Islam in the remark that "Mohammed in part destroyed the Arab when he created the Muslim"[1]

So again, when African Muslims are approached on the subject of surrendering their religion for that of Europe, they refer to the various sects and divisions of the "People of the Book," in which phrase they include Christians and Jews, quoting again the words of the Koran (Sura ii. 107):

"The Jews say, 'The Christians rest on nothing'; and the Christians say, 'The Jews rest on nothing.'"

They are thus protected against undue ascendency among them of either Arab or European peculiarities.

Having endeavoured to define the two fundamental articles of the Muslim creed as expounded by its African professors, let us now see how far Mohammed's teachings agree with the belief of Christendom as expressed in the

[1] *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 32.

Apostles' Creed. I have frequently discussed this Creed with African Muslims. Take the Clauses separately;

"I believe in God the Father, Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth."

Excepting the word "Father" Mohammedans accept this.

"And in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord."

This they believe, excepting the words *His only Son.*

"Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate."

This they accept.

"Was crucified, dead and buried. He descended into hell; and the third day he rose again from the dead."

This they reject on Koranic authority. Sura iii. 47, 48.

"He ascended into heaven."

This they believe.

They reject what follows down to the word "dead."

All the remainder, beginning with "I believe in the Holy Ghost" they accept *ex animo.*

With regard to the miraculous Birth of Christ, Mohammedans hold much more decided views than many Christians. The Prophet said:

"Whosoever shall bear witness that there is one God; and that Mohammed is His servant and messenger; and that Jesus Christ is His servant and messenger; and that he is the son of the handmaid of God, and that he is the Word of God, the word which was sent to Mary, and Spirit from God, will enter into paradise."[1]

Rodwell thinks that Mohammed believed in the Immaculate and miraculous conception of Christ.[2] If Christ is not called the Son of God in the Koran, he is never called, as he is frequently in the new Testament, the "Son of Man." The "Son of Mary" is the only appellation.[3]

[1] *Mishkat-ul Masabih*, *i.* 11.

[2] *Translation of the Koran*, *p.* 155.

[3] After this, it is surprising to read the following from so eminent an authority as Sir William Muir: "The Coran itself contains no doctrine peculiar to Christianity, if perhaps we except the Resurrection from the dead, and the Life to come; and even these are travestied and cast into the mould of rabbinical legend."—*The Mahommedan Controversy*, *p.* 129.

On the other hand, the *Times* (June 13, 1902), reviewing a remarkable volume[1] recently published, informs us that "criticism not obscurely suggests that all those elements in the Gospels which ascribe to Christ a miraculous Birth and a Divine Nature are the creation of the Church's reflective consciousness and the product of her adoration of Christ." Again: "It is said to be the case that of all the Articles of the Creed this is the most beset with difficulties in the judgment of our educated youth."

The Koran ascribes the Divine choice of Mary to her purity and chastity (Sura xxi. 92). The positive idea of preference as a reward of virtue is emphasized. In the *Te Deum* it is said, "When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man, Thou didst not *abhor* the Virgin's womb." This is somewhat modified, I think with advantage, in the Prayer Book of the Catholic Episcopal Church of the United States.

We will now consider the practical consequences of his Creed upon the character and conduct of the Soudanese Muslim.

[1] *Contentio Veritatis.* By Six Oxford Tutors.

It brings to him a consciousness of his place as a distinct, rational, responsible individuality, allied to the highest intelligences of the universe, all moving in entire subordination and submission to the one Supreme Will; none by virtue of nationality or race taking precedence in the family of the Faithful. Its invocations are always for the Prophet and his followers. The Prophet and all his people are one. Only God is supreme. Man, according to this system, is above all created beings, and inferior, whatever his worldly position, only to the Creator, who when He had made man commanded the angels to prostrate themselves before the new creature (Sura. ii, 32). But man is in no way allied to the Almighty, nor is he in any way connected with the beast of the field. There is neither anthropomorphism nor totemism in Islam. This creed has wrought upon the Africans as individuals or communities improvements which the system evolved or rather derived in Europe from Semitic teachings is helpless to produce, hampered as it is by the concomitants of so-called civilisation, which as a social or

spiritual force are disintegrating and destructive.

Civilisation has its advantages and disadvantages, its privileges and its burdens; the White Man's Burden and the Black Man's Burden. To the African, forced to come into contact with it, the religion of Islam furnishes the greatest solace and the greatest defence. To him it is *praesidium* as well as *dulce decus*. The foreigner never fails to respect him when he presents himself with the badge of the faith of Mohammed.

The religion of Arabia has this feature—that it has been preached to, accepted by, and become the abiding faith of members of all the known races—Caucasian, Mongolian, Negro, Shem, Ham and Japhet, all unite under its banner and speak its language. Christianity has never been able thus to unite distinct and dissimilar races. Ham and Shem have never found cordial and unqualified welcome in its fold, whether Roman, Anglican, or Puritan. Yet its Japhetic professors have assumed that " races outside its fold should not only enter, ure anxious to enter. When, however,

through special efforts made to secure them strangers come "from many an ancient river, and from many a palmy plain," they are assigned a back seat. They are not allowed to share in the brotherhood and equality promised. "Hitherto shalt thou come and no further" is the practice if not the law of the religion. And yet Dr. Weitbrecht, with all the facts before him, deliberately says that "the tribes converted to Islam have entered a blind alley which will lead them a certain distance and no farther."[1]

Will Dr. Weitbrecht tell us why there are as yet no native Bishops in the Church of England in India? The propriety or necessity for such an appointment was suggested by Rev. J. Thomas, a European missionary in India, to Rev. Henry Venn, Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, in 1864. The idea was endorsed both by Mr. Venn and Dr. Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta.[2] This was forty years ago; and yet nothing in that direction has been attempted. And it would seem that

[1] *Church Missionary Intelligencer, Nov.* 1899.

[2] *Memoir of Rev. Henry Venn, B.D., p,* 322.

Christendom is getting farther and farther away from the idea of brotherhood. The remarkable article in the *Fortnightly Review* (August, 1902), on "*Negrophilism in South Africa*," is heartbreaking to the intelligent African, or would be heartbreaking if he were not reassured by the rapidly spreading influence of Islam over his Fatherland. It is said in the *Fortnightly* that at all the missionary centres there is "an increasing perception that not literary training, but training to labour is what is required as the first European lesson to the black man."

Again many white Christians are troubled by "the importation from the United States of a Negro Bishop of an African Episcopal Church." The people will endure no equality of black and white in Church or in State.

In West Africa alone, where the white man cannot live, we have in one single locality three native *Assistant* Bishops all of the same tribe. One of them, who is recognised by all his people as entirely qualified to be made full Bishop, has the burden laid upon him of raising

£10,000, as an endowment fund, before he can be appointed to a position to which every consideration, except, probably, his colour or race, entitles him. Many of his people are discouraged by this condition imposed upon him and refuse to subscribe.

Christ said, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel," but from the course pursued by his enlightened representatives, it would seem that the command of the Master is impracticable. If a Negro, or an Indian, or a Chinaman, who has embraced Christianity and has been specially trained to preach by qualified Christian teachers, applies to a Missionary Society to be sent to any station outside the dark races, he is told that propriety or circumstances require that he should evangelise his own brethren; and yet it was from a dark race that Europe received the Gospel; but the moment it crossed the Bosphorus it became racial or the monopoly of Europe. This is not in accordance with the message which Paul, specially sent to evangelise Europe, gave to its people. He told them—what up to this day they seem unable to grasp, eve

when they profess to be carrying the message the Apostle gave them :—

"As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ."

"There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all ONE in Christ Jesus."[1]

But Great Britain does not hold itself responsible for the popular missionary propoganda. Without, probably, having in mind the particular feature of the case we are pointing out, Lord Salisbury, addressing the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at the celebration of its two hundreth anniversary, June 19, 1900,[2] said :—

"This is a great occasion. It is a standpoint in the history not only of our Church, but of our nation."

He then added :—

"I am here perhaps rather as a stranger, for I must not conceal from you that at the Foreign Office missionaries are not popular—(laughter)—and that perhaps the Foreign Office

[1] Galatians iii. 27, 28. [2] At Exeter Hall.

may look upon me as rather a deserter in appearing upon your platform at the present time."

The "occasion" *was* "a great one," and the Spirit of God, which Renan calls "the soul of the world," gave to the head of the British Government the word in due season. Referring to the Mohammedans his Lordship used the following weighty and carefully prepared language :—

"May I say one word in the same line upon a matter which touches us more closely, and which is seldom absent from our thoughts, and that is the position which this country and those who represent its moral and spiritual forces occupy to those great Mohammedan populations which in so many parts of the world come into close connexion with our rule? I have pointed out to you how difficult it is to persuade other nations that the missionary is not an instrument of the secular Government. It is infinitely more difficult in the case of Mohammedans. He cannot believe that those who are preaching the Gospel against the religion of Mahomet are not incited thereto

and protected therein and governed in their action by the secular Government of England with which they are connected . . . And remember that in these Mohammedan countries you are not dealing with men who are wholly evil. You are dealing with men who have a religion, erroneous in many respects, terribly mutilated in others, but that a religion that has portions of our own embodied in its system. You are dealing with the force which a sincere, though mistaken, theism gives to a vast population, *You will not convert them.* I do not say that you will never do so—God knows I hope that that is far from our fears. But, dealing with the events of the moment, I think that your chances of the conversion of them as *proved by our experience* are infinitely small, and the danger of creating great perils and producing serious convulsions, and, it may be, of causing bloodshed which shall be a serious and permanent obstacle to that Christian religion which we desire above all things to preach, is a danger that you must bear in mind."

In accordance with the teachings of such

truly Christian statesmanship, the Foreign Office consistently refuses to allow missionaries to operate at Khartoum, its newly acquired responsibility in a Mohammedan country.

Islam, on the other hand, makes room for all. If a Muslim Negro from Soudan or a Malay from India, or a Chinaman from Pekin, is competent he can be sent on any—the most important mission—in connection with his religion, and he will be invited to lead the prayers in any mosque in Europe, Asia, Africa or America. A Negro Muslim from Sierra Leone has lately been leading the devotions of English Muslims in the mosque at Liverpool. The Sheikh-ul-Islam of England, Abdullah Quilliam, an Englishman, whose nationality does not debar him from holding that high position in the Mohammedan community, delivered by his faith from racial prejudices and restrictions, has named one of his sons after an African slave—BILAL: a name which, Mr. Townsend tells us, though that of a Negro, is in Asia, through his connection with Islam, better known than that of Alexander

Great.[1] Sultans and Pashas will take their places in the ranks at the time of prayer behind the black or brown Imam, if only he is qualified to lead or stand before them, as the word means. Mr. Bryce, in his Romanes Lecture, a few months ago,[2] confessed to the inability of Christianity on this subject as compared with Islam. "Christianity," he said, "with its doctrine of brotherhood, does not create the sentiment of equality which Islam does" This is not the fault of Christianity but of the earthen vessel in which the treasure is contained. An Imperial race is incompetent to maintain the simplicity of the Nazarene, and diffuse His teachings as He gave utterance to them. It is not the business of Imperialism to make *men* but to create subjects, not to save souls, but to rule bodies. It must have a certain repulsiveness. On its moral side, it must be imperious, with pronounced self-confidence, a certain unsympathising straitness - a pride in itself and an inevitable ignorance of others. It is deficient in spirituality and therefore cannot

[1] *Asia and Europe, p. 185.* [2] *Times, June 10th, 1902.*

impart it. Its most successful work for aliens must be on its material side.—Well regulated police supervision, technical and industrial schools, hospitals and dispensaries, are its proper and more effective instruments for civilising and building up backward races.

Islam is the most effective educational force in Negroland. A system of common schools prevails throughout Islamic Africa by which every child is taught to read the Koran in the original and to commit to memory what has been taught. Thousands learn the Koran in this way and thus aquire a familiarity with an immense number of Arabic words, which serve as a bond of union and produce a solidarity of views and of interests which extends from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, and from the Mediterranean to the Equator. And when it is considered that five times a day millions in those latitudes and longitudes repeat in their devotions the same words, it will be seen what a mighty force they form on the continent—Mandingoes, Foulahs, Jalofs, Hausas, Yorubas, and all the vast variety of tribes whose names are not known to Europe, speak each its own

vernacular, but when they meet all prostrate themselves before the great Creator with the same words of adoration and self-extinction—*Allahu akbar*, and grasp each other by the hand with the same language of salutation, in the spirit of the watch-word of the Koran.

المومنون اخوة

Almuminuna Ikhwatun.

"All believers are brethren." How is Christianity, bearing on its back the burden of its caste prejudices, the liquor traffic, and its ethical intolerance, ever to make way among these people?

African Muslims live only for Islam. The wealthy ones—and there are seldom any paupers among them—use their means for the promotion of intellectual and spiritual education. I was present in 1894 at the dedication of a magnificent mosque erected at Lagos at an expense of £5000 by a wealthy native Mohammedan. The Governor of the Colony, Sir Gilbert Carter, presided, and there was present the Sheikh-ul-Islam, Quilliam, appointed by His Majesty the Sultan, Abdul Hamid

Khan to represent him at the ceremony and to invest with a Turkish Order the devoted and patriotic builder.

Six months ago, during a visit which I made to the French colony of Senegal, I saw numerous evidences of the practical interest which the Native Muslims take in Education. One of the largest and most important of the mosques in St. Louis, a two story stone building, 60 feet by 48 feet, with tiled roof was erected, I was informed, by private beneficence. Prayers are held in the lower story. The upper story is used for literary gatherings, lectures and discussions. It is surrounded by nine small comfortable dwelling houses, constructed of similar materials, of one story, erected by the same liberal builder of the mosque for the poor, where respectable indigent persons too poor to own or rent houses are given shelter for life. The benefactor, whose name is Ahmad Gouray, I did not have the pleasure of seeing. He had left a few weeks before my arrival on pilgrimage for the second time to Mecca.

The skill of these people in the Arabic

language and literature is often marvellous. They not unfrequently surpass in culture their Oriental co-religionists. I have seen Arabs and Moors sit in perfect amazement and as outsiders while listening to the reading and exposition of Arabic books—not excepting the Koran—by Natives of West Africa. M. Felix Dubois says: "The Soudanese doctors were enabled to add the works of their own authors to the books of Bagdad, Cairo, Grenada, which formed the foundations of their libraries. . . . A celebrated jurist of Hedjaz (Arabia) arriving in Timbuctoo with the intention of teaching, found the town full of Sudanese scholars. Observing them to be his superiors in knowledge, he withdrew to Fez, where he succeeded in obtaining employment." [1]

During my visit to Senegal referred to above, through the kindness of His Excellency M. Roume, the Governor-General, to whom I had a letter of introduction from Sir C. A. King-Harman, the Governor of Sierra Leone, and the obliging courtesy of M. Decazes, Director of Native Affairs, I enjoyed exceptional oppor-

[1] *Tombouctou the Mysterious*, pp. 285 and 302.

tunities for studying the situation as it relates to Mohammedans. The chief Government Interpreter, Al Hajj Ahmad Sek. a Jalof, thoroughly educated in French and Arabic, and who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, was placed at my disposal. Among other places of interest this gentleman took me to the Mohammedan Court, over which Alkadi (Judge) Bakai Ba, a Native, presides —a man much above the ordinary size, of splendid physique and commanding presence, severe, though dignified of aspect, with a voice of masculine and impressive strength. He sat at his desk surrounded by Arabic law books printed and in manuscript. He conversed with equal ease in French and Arabic, and in Foulah or Mandingo, with the interpreters, Mohammed Sanusi and Momodu Wakka, whom I took with me from Sierra Leone. His decisions, I was told by the Governor-General, in all civil and religious cases affecting his co-religionists, are final.

Islam in Soudan is propagated by self-supporting missionaries without supervision or emolument from any recognised or directing

centre. I have often seen these missionaries in remote and sequestered pagan towns and villages, away from the public eye, earnestly teaching and preaching the Unity of God and the Mission of His Apostle, and teaching children and youth. What these men do never appears in any newspaper, foreign or local, to be brought back to them either in terms of eulogy or of dispraise. There is a spiritual impotentiality, so to say, which cannot be trusted away from conventional incentives and supports. Every mite which it drops into the treasury of the Lord must be inscribed with the name of some individual or sect and heralded to the world. Not so the missionary of Islam in Africa who, strong in his belief in the doctrines he promulgates, acts everywhere on his own initiative; his only support being the words of the Koran, *Ajri ind Allahi*, "My reward is with God." No human praise elates and no human censure depresses him. "Why don't you send reports of your successes to the local papers?" I asked one of the active Muslim missionaries at Lagos. "We report to," he laconic but significant reply,

and he added, with a cynical air, a sentiment something like that expressed in the lines of Metastasio:

" La gioja vernce,
Per farsi palese
D'un labbro loquace,
Bisogno non ha."

I must confess that whenever I have seen these men at work and I have frequently seen them—and have contrasted their zealous efforts, their self-sacrifice, their indifference to human recognition and applause, with the timidity, the hesitancy, the helpless dependence upon foreign aid and stimulus of native missionaries of Christianity, something of the feeling has come over me which Renan says was excited in him every time he witnessed the daily prayers of Muslims, "Je ne suis jamais entré dans une mosquée sans une vive emotion, le dirai-je? sans un certain regret de n'être pas musulman."[1]

Islam in Soudan is protective in its influence and permanent in its conquests. When the Muslim missionary has once brought a com-

[1] Ernest Renan, *L'Islamisme et la Science*, p. 19, quoted by Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, p. 339.

munity within the pale of Islam, it is for ever sheltered from the blighting influence of foreign trade and commerce. This the religion from Europe has nowhere done and cannot do.

All the representatives of His Majesty at present administering the affairs of the West African Colonies agree in their testimony as to the preservative and uplifting influence of Islam.

Sir Frederick Lugard in his report pays to Muslim influence the following compliment: "It has appeared to me that it would be advisable to include in Northern Nigeria any large towns close to the frontier which might become depots for the storage and sale of liquor."[1]

The inhabitants of Northern Nigeria are mostly Mohammedans and they have compelled the Government to legislate against the introduction of liquor by the practical argument of refusing to purchase it.

[1] See Report of Sir Frederick Lugard, High Commissioner, on Northern Nigeria, published in *West Africa*, March 8, 1902; also Despatch of Sir George Denton, Governor of Gambia, published in *West Africa*, August 2, 1902. Also *Message* of Sir William MacGregor, delivered to the Legislative Council of Lagos in 1902.

His Excellency Sir George Denton, Governor of the Gambia, in an official letter to the Colonial Office describing his last visit (January 1902) to the Hinterland says :

" One thing that I noticed on this visit, was the progress which Mohammedanism is making in this part of the world. But a very little time ago the Soninkes were very numerous, as also were the Pagan Fulahs ; now every day the Marabouts are increasing, and before long they will number three-quarters at least of the population. This, I think, will on the whole be of decided advantage to the Colony, though the *revenue from the spirit trade*, never a large amount on the Gambia, *will fall off* no doubt, but it will, I believe, be possible to make up the sum lost from other sources."

On the other hand, Sir Matthew Nathan, Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, complains in an official letter dated January 18, 1902, of the drunken and slovenly habits of some of his chiefs who have not yet come under Islamic influence. [1]

The *Missionary Herald* (Boston, U.S., August, 1902) says :

[1] *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, April 19, 1902.

"It is not many years since the Christian chief Khama removed his residence to Phalapye, for the sufficient reason that he wished his people to be out of the way of the temptations to drink which surrounded them at their old capital. He is to remove again, but for what reason we are not as yet informed. His new station is to be Serone, about forty miles north-west of Phalapye."

It is needless to add that if Khama and his people had been converted to Islam there would have been no necessity for breaking up his home. On the contrary, the Government would have been compelled, as in Northern Nigeria, to prohibit drink.

At the Ecumenical Conference in New York to which reference has been made above, numerous and earnest complaints were made by missionaries of the demoralization brought among their converts by civilization. Rev. John G. Paton, D.D., New Hebrides, Presbyterian missionary, said: "After we give the Gospel to the heathen, and life and property are safe, trade follows us, not to uphold the work of God, but to give the natives rum and

brandy, which ruin both their bodies and souls."[1]

Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler, another veteran evangelist, said, speaking of the Philippine Islands:

'They are under our flag. That means, authority, opportunity, responsibility. Under our flag! It is a most terrible truth that that flag, our "Old Glory," as we call it, floats to-night over American drinking dens and American slaughter houses of body and soul in Manila. (Cries of 'Shame!'). Yes, shame! shame! Oh, if it must hang above those drinking hells, then, for Heaven's sake, hang it at half mast."

Every one will remember the fervent appeals of the Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa against the liquor traffic. It is clear to all acquainted with the conditions that, unless Christian missionaries can induce the nations whose citizens they are to suppress the export of liquor to Africa, their labours on this continent will be those of the Danaides, and Islam, keeping immeasurably in advance in its

[1] *Ecumenical Missionary Conference*, vol. i. p. 383.

influence, will finally absorb the whole of the intellectual and physical strength of the country.

With Islam Africa is safe at least from physical destruction : with popular Christianity it might share the fate of the North American Indians, Sandwich Islanders, New Zealanders, &c. The Philippines cannot be in the danger of those countries, because Islam has a strong hold upon large portions of the population ; the rest are under the conservative influence of the Roman Catholics, under whom, wherever they go, native races are preserved. One of the reasons for this favourable result is given in a recent speech delivered in London by Bishop Hoare of Victoria, that the Roman Catholic missionaries do not evangelize, but occupy themselves with educational work. [1]

Islam in Africa is again and again reproached with backwardness. With contemptuous reference to its so-called "stagnant" condition, the lines of Lord Houghton are flung into its face.

---

1 *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, August, 1902.

"So while the world rolls on from change to change,
And realms of thought expand,
The Letter stands without expanse or range,
Stiff as a dead man's hand." [1]

In the case of Africa, we must say "better a cycle of Cathay than fifty years of Europe." Better this "stiffness" than the pliability which has permitted dark races in contact with civilization to "roll on from change to change," till they "rolled" out of existence. This "stiffness" has proved a powerful antiseptic. But the poet adds—

"The tide of things rolls forward, surge on surge,
Bringing the blessed hour,
When in Himself the God of Love shall merge
The God of Will and Power.

Then will be Africa's time. Meanwhile, she loiters asleep during the march of material progress and political rule.

The charge is frequently brought against Islam in Soudan that it always brings with it fierce hostility to Europeans and Christians. This charge, according to the testimony of competent witnesses, cannot be sustained so far as Negro Muslims are concerned, who are

[1] *Poetical Works*, vol. i. p. 164.

everywhere peaceable, tolerant, and non-political in their aspirations. Captain Binger, who spent several years in Soudan, and has held official appointments under the French Government among Soudanese says, speaking of the Mohammedans of Kong:—

"Ils sont bons musulmans mais tolerants, et ils n'ont rien du fanatisme des musulmans Foulbé du Maçina ou des Toucouleurs.

Tous les musulmans sont très tolérants, aucun d'eux n'est assez sot pour ne pas prêter une marmite ou une calebasse à un infidèle, comme cela a lieu dans quelques contrées habitées par des Foulbés musulmans . . . . Ils m'ont souvent interrogé sur les différences qu'offrent ces trois religions (qu'ils nomment Mouça Sila, Insa Sila, Mohammadou Sila) entre elles, mais aucun d'eux n'a été assez sot pour me dire que la religion musulmane est la meilleure, *je dois le dire à leur louange.*[1]"

M. Felix Dubois, another traveller in Islamic Soudan, whose knowledge of Arabic gave him

[1] *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinee, par le pays de Kong et le* Capitaine Binger, 1887-1889. Paris, 1892.

exceptional advantages for learning the people, says:

"The character of the Soudanese in general is essentially based upon a foundation of goodness and docility. and they lack the elements necessary to produce the savage sectarian so common to the north of Africa and Asia. . . . Contemporary history of the Soudan has, however, revealed frequent fanatical explosions and numerous holy wars. The curious biography of El Mouchelli has disclosed one of the causes of these disturbances, namely, the influence of the Arabian Musulman, which at the present moment principally makes itself felt by the propaganda of the sect of the Lenoussi . . . It is, therefore, through direct or indirect contact with the foreign Musulman of the white races that the Soudanese is transformed into a sectarian, and it is from this contact that we must preserve him in order to maintain peace in the Nigerian countries.

"Finally, and most characteristically, it is not the *pure-bred* Negro among the population of the Soudan who allows himself to be led into holy wars, but it is those people in whose

veins the blood of the white races flows, the Foulbés of Berber origin, and the Toucouleurs, who are a mixture of the Foulbé and the Negro of Mali."[1]

Mr. E. D. Morel, in an exceedingly interesting paper published in the *Journal of the African Society* (January 1902), makes the reassuring statement that France "has broken the power of the *cross-races*, upon whom she is conferring the means of existence without rapine, murder, and slave-raiding, and has made practically impossible the renewal of *jihads* by the Tijaaniyah Sect on anything like a large scale."[2]

The Soudanese Muslims are the most loyal of all the natives under European rule. In religious matters they listen for fetwas from Constantinople, not Mecca. They take no part in the dispute about the Khalifate. All roads lead to Rome in the religious ideas of Europe so in the religious ideas of the Soudanese Muslims all roads lead to Constantinople, εἰς τὴν πόλιν—Istamboul.

[1] *Timbuctoo the Mysterious*, pp. 300, 301.

[2] *Journal of the African Society*, Jan. 1902.

Al Hajj Omar, who waged extensive wars in Soudan in the name of Islam, was a Toucouleur. Samundu or Samory, a full blooded negro, was an uninstructed fanatic attempting, with a misguided zeal, to spread Islam among Pagan tribes by means of the sword. But in all his conquests he never aspired to ultimate supremacy for himself. At the time of his greatest successes, when he was unquestioned potentate of the whole of the valley west of the Niger, he desired, by a proper instinct, to surrender his country to British rule, and as an earnest of this gave large concessions to the British capitalist, and this not from any cowardly or servile spirit, but because he recognized the destiny and limitations of his race. The pure Soudanese as pointed out by Dubois, do not aspire to, and they know themseles to be incapable of, extensive secular sway. In the colony of Senegal and its hinterland, where there are hundreds of thousands of them, they have no political associations, and no journalism. At St. Louis, where there is every facility for such a thing, they have not a single newspaper, and they are happier for it than

their brethren in other parts of West Africa, who rejoice in the advantages and "freedom of the Press."

Another charge brought against Muslims, especially those of Soudan, is that their conception of a woman and her place is degrading to her and to humanity. But this charge is brought only by those unacquainted with the facts—untravelled and half-educated people.

I have neither time nor inclination to discuss the question here, so far as Africa is concerned, and to give the results of my own experience. Miss Kingsley has shown that honourable homage was paid to women in Africa, both Mohammedan and Pagan, long before Europe understood or appreciated the question. At the recent celebration of their Majesties' Coronation in this colony, two ladies from the hinterland were received by the Government as Queens in their own right.

With regard to the future of Islam it seems to be a cherished idea with certain European writers that the increasing political subordination of Islam means its disappearance as a power. Mr. Bryce in his lecture

above referred to, looking at general political conditions, exclaims, "Conceive the difference if Islam were within two centuries to disappear from the earth. The thing is not impossible; perhaps not even improbable." But the symbol of Islam is the crescent not the waning moon. Its political disintegration intensifies its religious force. A writer in *La Dépêche Coloniale*, January 27, 1902, calls attention to this important fact:

"Par une coincidence inexplicable en apparence mais absolument logique et fatale en réalité, les Etats musulmans partout sont en voie de decadence, d'affaiblissemnt, de ruine, alors que la religion de l'Islam fait de nombreuses recrues dans les populations africaines et asiatiques. . . .

"Déja la Russie a mis la main sur les sultanats de l'Asie occidentale; l'Egypte, la Tunisie ne sont plus que des protectorats. L'Afghanistan, la Perse, la Turquie, le Maroc ne vivent plus qu'à l'état précaire, grâce au rivalités des puissances européennes qui convoitent leur héritage. Et cependant, l'Islam non seulement subsiste, mais s'étend, fait des

prosélytes, gagne des fidèles." *Sic volvere Parcae.*

There is no earthly prospect of the disappearance of Islam from the religious forces of the world. It will continue as long as Roman Catholicism will, as long as cloud-capped towers, gorgeous palaces, and solemn temples remain. Learned African Muslims declare that Asia and Africa are the fated possessions of Ishmael, while Europe and America have been given to Isaac--Abraham's two sons. The Cross, while surrendering to the Crescent the localities which it first consecrated, has opened for itself new fields in the West.

SOME PROBLEMS OF WEST AFRICA.

Great Britain has done more to open up Africa and bring its inner secrets to the knowledge of the world than any other nation. And it is the only nation that, single-handed, undertook the gigantic task of abolishing the evils which, by partaking with others in the slave trade, it had helped to create. When it became thoroughly convinced of the pernicious and immoral character of the system, it not only did all in its power to destroy it, but subjected itself to great labour and to vast expenditure of treasure, and exhausted the resources of diplomacy, to secure the co-operation of others in the work of the complete annihilation of the nefarious traffic.

It is impossible to read the papers which in those days were presented each year to Parliament by the Foreign Office, on the subject of

the slave trade, and mark the numerous and unceasing efforts of England to make Foreign Powers adopt such views of commerce with Africa as are alone consistent with justice and humanity. I say it is impossible for us in these days to peruse those papers without a feeling of admiration at the perseverance, the single-mindedness, and the ability with which, in accordance with the spirit of true religion and the dictates of humanity, the various administrations, whether Whig or Tory, in a nobler rivalry than party, emulated each other in carrying out the great and arduous task of extinguishing a gigantic wrong, under whatever flag perpetrated.

The vigorous efforts of England to root out the iniquitous traffic began soon after she had inaugurated what might be called the era of modern exploration, Mungo Park being in the lead, followed by a long list of energetic travellers, ending with Stanley.

It is a curious fact in the political history of England that after her brilliant, scientific work *in* Africa, and her marvellous philanthropic work *for* Africa—after a vast expendi-

ture of blood and treasure—she should have been content, during a long period of years, with a quiescent if not indifferent attitude towards that great continent. That a Parliamentary Committee should have made the astounding recommendation to retire gradually from a field which had been so dearly won is, to the present generation, entirely incomprehensible, and to the past a source of unavailing regret. But it was nobody's fault in those days. Both the great parties acquiesced in the retrograde policy. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Caldwell and Lord Stanley were all of the same opinion on the subject. The warm and generous impulses, the hopeful feelings of a previous generation, appeared to be frozen into a cold, unmoved indifference, so that all personal appeals to Downing Street on the subject of West Africa were received by the authorities as idle declamation—the most cogent and elaborately-written petition as waste paper. And this spirit, strange to say, largely infected the intense commercial temper, even of Liverpool. Nobody paid any attention to Africa, or at least only a few specialists,

B 594085

like McGregor Laird, who had a craze for what was really then the dark continent, and persisted in his dreams of its vast resources.

But it would appear to a careful student of history of those times that the indifference to West Africa then prevailing grew out of a succession of failures of several philanthropic efforts to ameliorate the condition of that country, especially the lamentable termination of the Niger Expedition of 1841, which had brought a vast deal of public censure and odium upon its distinguished promoters.

More has been done for African developement and progress during the last decade than during the whole period which elapsed between 1807, when the slave trade was abolished, and 1895, when the present administration came into power. Circumstances forced upon England her new African policy, under the guiding and steady hand of a sagacious and indomitable spirit, possessing an extraordinary faculty of insight and capacity for grasping situations.

But the public notice of this address announced, as its subject, "Some Problems of

West Africa." I propose, then, to discuss a few of the problems (in the time allowed me I can deal only with a very few), which in that country confront the British Government and the British people; and to which, I believe, they are now awake, or, rather, increasingly awaking, and of which, please God, under the liberal and tactful reign of Edward VII., they will arrive at a satisfaction solution.

All intelligent Africans believe in England, in her high moral purpose, in her strong sense of right and justice. They believe that England will not slumber nor sleep whenever any wrong exists in her dominions until that wrong is redressed. They judge England of the present, as to her upright intentions, by England of the past. We do not believe that she will be transformed by any undisputed political ascendancy in Africa, as, alas, some of her children are sometimes transformed when away from their country and loosed from their native traditions. England of the past is England of the present, and will be England of the future.

The first and most obvious problem con-

fronting Great Britain in West Africa, is the political problem, growing daily in magnitude. Besides the administrative questions, which, owing to the recent assumption of Protectorates perplex British governors on the coast, there is the vast region recently brought under British jurisdiction in Northern Nigeria, containing a population variously estimated at between ten and twenty millions, with an area of 500,000 square miles. The bold and daring policy of Sir Frederick Lugard has introduced a great responsibility, but also a great privilege, into the area of British political influence, involving duties which cannot be neglected without seriously compromising not only British interests but the interests of humanity; hence arises the necessity for wise and prudent statesmanship, in order that the Empire and the people taken under its care may reap the advantages which ought to accrue from so great a responsibility and so vast an opportunity.

Two principles, it seems to me, should guide the policy of the Imperial Powers which have taken upon themselves to partition Africa.

First, to encourage the development of the natives along the lines of their own idiosyncracies as revealed in their institutions. No people can profit by or be helpful under institutions which are not the outcome of their own character. The sudden and wholesale imposition of European ideas and methods upon the African has been like the investing of David in Saul's armour. He is falling before the Goliath of progress. It is this feature of the question which so largely influenced the feelings of Miss Kingsley. Speaking of the methods of the European in Africa, she said, solemnly and vigorously:

"You have a grand, rich region there, populated by an uncommon fine sort of human being. You have been trying your present set of ideas on it for over 400 years! They have failed in a heart-breaking, drizzling sort of way to perform any single solitary one of the things you say you want done there. West Africa to-day is just a quarry of paving stones for hell, and those stones were cemented in place with men's blood mixed with wasted gold." This is strong language, but not too

strong; and I believe that this idea, since the death of its distinguished exponent, is fructifying in the British mind—the idea of giving to the African the fullest opportunity for self-development and self-advancement. This is the sort of opportunity that the Muslim African has had, and which accounts for his practical superiority to his Christian brother. If an idea takes possession of him he can carry it out by individual or organised effort. The Christian Negro cannot. It is not so much the heretical theology of the African Mohammedan or his war-like tendency that annoys his critics, as his self-reliant and defensive instincts. A few years before the enlightened rule of Sir Frederick Lugard, some traders ventured to send up the Niger, as far as Egga, sixty puncheons of rum. The natives at once sent them back to their enterprising owners with an indignant message. This settled the question of the possibility of the liquor traffic in Northern Nigeria.

The present High Commissioner is only enforcing a policy which he found existing in the country.

The next principle which, it appears to me, governors and administrators in West Africa should pursue, and which I am glad to know they are conscientiously endeavouring to pursue, is to give to the African taken under British rule all the advantages, in their spirit and effect, which as individuals or communities, as rulers or people, they would have enjoyed under native conditions. Do not deprive them of rights and advantages which they valued and enjoyed before you came, and which were in accordance with justice and equity, without making it clear to them that you give them their equivalent. The sense of justice is as keen in the African as in any one else. For example, if, for the necessities or convenience of European enterprise or for more effective administration, you close one door, which for generations they have prized, open another, which the native will feel is an adequate substitute for the one he has been induced to surrender. This will tend to produce the desirable and profitable result which Sir Alfred Jones is anxious to see brought viz.: "to make the native happy and

prosperous in his own country." I believe that the future of Africa will rest with that Power which will establish its authority upon the basis of the two principles I have just enumerated. And I am glad to know that I have said nothing which will be new to the actual responsible authorities who represent Great Britain in that country. I am only supporting and putting on record the policy which they are now attempting to introduce.

Referring to the new acquisitions in Northern Nigeria, it is encouraging to know that General Lugard has exhibited so much mildness in conquest, and so much wisdom and moderation in policy, that, as far as I can learn, he has won the respect and esteem not only of the people who have come under his sway, but also of the officers who assist in administration. He has, I may venture to say, a splendid field before him. The new subjects he has brought within the Empire are among the greatest of the African tribes, and will be the most intelligent and most effective co-workers with England in the regeneration of the Continent. Their leaders—the Almamis, the Sheiks,

the Kadis—are, as a rule, a respectable and useful class of men who have great influence, not only among their own co-religionists, but also among Pagans; and the High Commissioner is pursuing the enlightened policy of attaching them firmly to the Government, and endeavouring to procure the exertion of their influence to give effect to the far-seeing schemes of his administration. He would gladly, as he has several times informed me, appoint political agents from among them, if there were any sufficiently educated in Western learning to be made available for this work as expounders of the British spirit and policy.

Growing out of this necessity, another problem before the Government and British people is the training of co-workers and leaders from among these followers of the Prophet. Here, the French, from their longer dealings with African Mohammedans, are far ahead of the English. I visited last year, in my capacity of Director of Mohammedan Education at Sierra Leone, with the consent and approval of Sir C. A. King-Harman, the Governor, the Colony of S[illegible] study the French system of educa-

tion for their vast Mohammedan population. Their chief instrument for this purpose is the College for the Education of Sons of Chiefs and of Interpreters, founded at St. Louis, by that enlightened statesman, General Faidherbe, fifty years ago.

It is a most interesting Institution which, the Governor-General, M. Roume, informed me, was admirably fulfilling its purpose. I learn that, since my visit, the buildings I saw have been taken down as not adapted to the increasing necessities, and a magnificent up-to-date structure is now in course of erection. They have also endowed schools in all the towns. So that with all the vast preparation they are making for material improvements—for railroads, and docks, and wharves—they do not neglect the fundamental necessity of the people—education. These are the high-minded uses which the French in that part of Africa are making of Imperial power, so that whatever their faults they must command the respect and confidence of their Mohammedan subjects. The precise problem of the education of the African is to develop his powers as an

African—a strange man to the European—in the way he should go; a way not known to his foreign guide, who is a stranger endeavouring to develop a strange man in a strange direction. The method which has been generally pursued in the training of the African has been absurd—superficial in its results—because it has been carried on without the study of the man and his intellectual possibilities, and, of course, producing, as a rule, only caricatures of alien manners, who copy the most obvious peculiarities of their teachers, with all their drawbacks and defects.

The British are only now entering upon the policy of educating Mohammedans. They have elementary schools for Muslims at Sierra Leone and Lagos. At Sierra Leone, the Governor is particularly anxious to promote this enterprise in the Colony for which he is responsible; but it is a very small part of the work that any Colony can do by itself. The question is one of Imperial interest and requires for its success the patronage and stimulus of Imperial resources. I hope that Sir Frederick Lugard, who is now in England, will be able

to induce the Government to provide either out of Imperial funds, or by contributions from the various colonies interested, for the establishment of a Central Institution on the highlands of Sierra Leone for the education in English and Arabic of Mohammedan youth from Northern Nigeria and the Colonies on the Coast.

In the interior there are thousands of Mohammedans who when such a movement becomes generally understood, will give it their earnest support. Intellectual culture, when it is known that such culture is not intended to interfere with their religion, is highly prized among them. I venture to say that the love of learning, for its own sake, is as general among African Mohammedans as it is in Europe. This fact is not altogether unknown in this country. The *Spectator*, some time ago, speaking of the work to be done by the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum, said :—

" We do not doubt the readiness of all the tribes to fill the classes to repletion, and become surveyors, engineers, doctors, traffic managers, and even men of learning, pur-

learning—learning without use having had a singular attraction for all men of the East, even including Chinamen, ever since Egyptians and men of Chaldæa studied astronomy and endeavoured to foresee the future of the soul. . . . . All Soudanese who know anything, know something of Arabic, and all who know nothing think of it as the language by which, if they knew it, they would be raised in the scale of creation and of Society."

We learn English, they say, or the language of the white man, to succeed in this world; we learn Arabic to prosper in the next. There is constant communication, epistolary and personal, between Mecca and the Mohammedans in West and Central Africa. Very few incidents occur in West Africa, affecting Mohammedans, which are not in a very short time known in Mecca and at Constantinople. There was a rumour some time last year that Messrs. Elder, Dempster & Co. would probably put a steamer on the Coast at stated times to take pilgrims to Mecca. This report was hailed with great joy all through the interior of Senegal, Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Lagos. News

of it reached Mecca, and I saw Arabic letters written from that Holy City to Mohammedans at Freetown, congratulating them on the prospect of greater facilities for reaching Mecca and sending the orthodox itinerary for the fulfilment of the requirements of the pilgrimage after landing at Alexandria. Sir Frederick Lugard was communicated with on the probability of pilgrims going from Northern Nigeria. He thought that the movement would be possible and useful after the country was settled.

Considering the importance attached to the pilgrimage in all parts of the Muslim world, this is another enterprise of Imperial interest, and will, no doubt, be looked upon not without sympathy by the Imperial Government.

I see reports in the papers of a probable rising by the people of Northern Nigeria against their recent conquerors, but I feel sure that the people of Kano and Sokoto—that is, the indigenous Mohammedans—having laid down their hostility, it will never be necessary hereafter, if the policy of Sir Frederick Lugard is persevered in, for England to maintain her

ascendancy in those countries by force of arms.

You will be surprised to learn that you have in Liverpool an element, an apparently trifling element it may be, but, nevertheless, an element, of the security of British Administration in those countries. Whatever view you, as Englishmen and Christians, may take of one of your countrymen who embraces Islam, I would like to assure you that the fact of there being among you such a pervert, as you would designate him, or a convert, as the Mahommedans would call him, he being an Englishman and the head of a mosque in the greatest commercial city of the Empire, produces in the mind of the African Muslim the deepest possible impression and the most favourable conception as to the friendship and tolerance of the British nation. I have been surprised at the extensive knowledge among West African Mohammedans of this man and his work. I was, as I have just told you, on a visit to French Guinea last year, and travelled by rail from Dakar to St. Louis, a distance of nearly two hundred miles, and at nearly every

station I met with Mohammedans who enquired about Quilliam; so when going along the coast on British steamers I have encountered traders from the interior, who, as soon as they found me out, would address me in the following manner:—

"Do you know Quilliam?" On my answering in the affirmative, they would proceed: "Do you believe that a white man, an Englishman, can be a true Muslim?" On being assured of the confidence reposed in him by the Sultan of Turkey, the Ameer of Afghanistan, and the Shah of Persia, whose Consul in Liverpool he is, they would exclaim with evident emotion, *Allahu akbar*—"God is Great"—a phrase common among them when expressing surprise or admiration. In this case it meant "God can do anything—He has even made an Englishman a devout Muslim." Mr. Quilliam himself hardly understands the unique character and importance of his position here. He is a silent, perhaps a suppressed, certainly an unconscious, element of British Imperial influence in the Muslim world.

It is a curious thing that the two English

names most extensively known among the West and Central African Mohammedans are those of Liverpool men. During the journey, to which I have referred, on the Senegal railway, I was introduced by Momodu Wakka, a Mandingo Mohammedan, who accompanied me as interpreter from Sierra Leone, to the private secretary of the celebrated African warrior, Samory, or Samudu, whom we met at one of the stations. He inquired of the gentleman, named Jones, who sent, in 1892, a magnificently bound copy of the Koran to his royal master, the name of the donor having been inscribed on the back of the book. He asked me if Jones was still alive; I said, "*Rather!*" The book, he said, was still in the possession of the family of Samudu. I told him that Mr. Jones was not only alive, but interested in the pilgrimage to Mecca from West Africa, and one of these days he might be able to provide facilities for making the journey to Mecca shorter and easier for West African Mohammedans. He could not suppress his delight at this [illegible] of information. He grasped my [illegible] his two hands, exclaiming,

Alhamdu lillahi; Allahu akbaru; In sha Allah —"Thank God; God is great; if it please God." An Empire builder, like the Empire itself, must take within his cognizance and sympathy all races and creeds.

Another problem before Great Britain is the establishment of adequate means of communication between the different portions of their possessions in West and Central Africa, which, though increasing in productive power, are practically inaccessible to each other and to the coast.

It is a source of not a little gratification to every one acquainted with past and present conditions, to see the importance now being attached to the construction of railways in West Africa. If this question has come within the range of practical politics in England, it is entirely owing to the persistent representations and irrepressible energy of Liverpool. It is not very long ago since it was a matter of the utmost difficulty to make the British public understand the important advantages to be derived from railways in West Africa, independently of their immediate pecuniary return.

During a succession of years a railway was earnestly recommended between Sierra Leone and its hinterland, but without effect. After more than a generation of discussion and hesitation, the lines for railways at Sierra Leone and Lagos were at length surveyed, and eventually railways were built; and nothing can be more promising than the reports we hear from time to time of their excellent effects upon the country through which they pass.

The African Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce is now diligently listened to by those in Downing Street, who hold in the hollow of their hands the destinies of that important part of the Empire. The craze of McGregor Laird and his prognostications of wealth in Africa beyond the dreams of avarice, are being realised through the commanding business powers and insuppressible energy of his successor in spirit, the chairman of the section which I now have the honour to address.

Many years ago, the French foresaw the exigencies of the present, and planned for the const[illegible] railways, and in considering

the question they did not confine their deliberations to the single point which often influences business men, viz., the amount of profit which might be looked for on the line as an ordinary speculation. There are cases, no doubt, in which the immediate question of profit and loss is everything. But a nation is sometimes called upon to deal with matters from a different point of view. There are occasions which demand somewhat of generous enterprise, far-sighted wisdom, and, it may be, of immediate self-sacrifice. While England hesitated, France was covering her West African possessions with a net-work of high roads, in the first instance, and now she is extending her railways in every direction, linking together French Guinea and Dahomey and the Ivory Coast, with a view, probably, of eventually connecting French Congo with her possessions in North Africa. And it cannot be said that France has not splendid *ex post facto* justification for all her expenditures and sacrifices thus far.

If England does not keep her eyes open, her aspiring, energetic and far-sighted neighbour will command all the traffic between the

Soudan and the Mediterranean, and divert it to the Atlantic through French Guinea and Senegal. For these reasons, I was very glad to notice that the Chamber of Commerce so readily fell in with the suggestion of Sir Ralph Moor as to the direction the Southern Nigeria Railway should take.

The *entente cordiale* between England and France is hailed with delight by all Africans and workers for Africa; and I believe that Africa has largely contributed to this *rapprochement*. Moved by the same impulse towards that country during the last twenty years, and eager about the responsibilities they have there assumed before the whole world, the sympathy and cordiality which now distinguish their relations should not be considered strange.

For the first time in the history of the two nations in West Africa, an event occurred a few months ago which surprised and delighted everybody. An English Admiral's ship not only visited Dakar, the chief port of Senegal, but the Admiral landed with his suite, and pr[illegible] railway to Saint Louis, the [illegible]ce of 180 miles, on a friendly

visit to His Excellency, M. Roume, Governor-General of French West Africa. At all the railway stations—which were beautifully decorated, and there are about sixteen of them—between Dakar and Saint Louis, Admiral Moore was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm by enormous crowds of natives.

If Africans are delighted at the present happy state of things between the two great nations, it is because they feel that, owning larger stakes in Africa than any other foreign Power, and ruling over the mightiest populations of that continent, there could be no better guarantee for the peace, the freedom, and the prosperity of the natives, than in the harmony and co-operation of France and Great Britain. It is of the utmost importance that these two nations should, by union and co-operation, impress a wholesome direction upon what must be regarded as the most critical period in the modern history of Africa.

I have heard of a railway to be constructed to Baghdad by international co-operation. I believe that the most important railway yet to be constructed in the cause of Africa and

humanity, is that to be built by Great Britain and France, conjointly, from Algiers to the Cape of Good Hope, the terminus on one side being in French territory, and on the other in English. Such an enterprise would make for the permanent peace, not only of Africa, but of Europe. The united interests of England and France would be a guarantee for the easy and successful arbitration in any difficulties arising out of commercial or political rivalries. On the other hand, the railway would furnish facilities for most effective police supervision of the continent, which is almost equally divided between the two nations, France, perhaps, having the larger share.

But to keep up railways, and practically justify their existence, they must be fed. The next problem, therefore, which must be solved, is that of enlarged and scientific agriculture. I am glad to see that the new Cotton Growing Association has set before itself the work of promoting this industry in West Africa, where, it is to be regretted, it is almost non-existent. [illegible] philanthropic agencies, which have for [illegible]undred years been in operation in

that country, had sown in the hearts of the natives the seeds of industry, and busied themselves in bringing those seeds to maturity, they would indeed have opened to the West African a career of usefulness which would have enabled him now to come forward as an effective co-worker and valuable contributor to the cause of the general progress of his country.

West Africa and England are mutually dependent upon each other. The work of England in that country would of course be far easier if Englishmen could colonise it, and England could send human labour to cultivate those fertile regions; but this is not possible.

The Lancashire manufacturer is indebted to West Africa at once for cheap cotton and for a customer. It must be, for you, both farm and shop, plantation and market, and it must also supply the necessary labour. Everything, except the material capital, must be found on the spot. The human intellectual capital which you can supply from this country, is most expensive and most uncertain, and must in the course of time disappear. "We want," said Mary Kingsley, "something

besides regions whereto we can send away from England men and women—namely, we want regions that will enable us to keep the very backbone of England, our manufacturing classes, in a state of healthy comfort and prosperity at home in England—in other words, we want markets."

Well, as a market for your products, it is well known that West and Central Africa are unsurpassable, not simply for their geographical or territoral importance. Without the men it would be as valuable to you only as the Arctic regions are valuable as a place for scientific expeditions or for sport. Equatorial Africa must be for the African or for nobody. Therefore, you must foster the native—not coddle him—but don't kill him ; study him, and teach him how to make the best use of his country. With your superior intelligence and experience, with your large scientific attainments, you must find out ways and means for energizing the industry of the people. They are, as Sir Alfred Jones has said, the assets of this nation, and you are our assets. It is your part by judicious methods to create in the natives

wholesome wants Don't stimulate in them a desire for luxury, for that will defeat the end you have in view. The love of luxury will effeminate them and convert them into ambitious idlers, anxious to exploit the labour of others—always plotting and scheming, not to eat bread by the sweat of their own face but by the sweat of the face of others.

I have seen during my travels and long sojourn in West Africa and its hinterland, hundreds, thousands of men with nothing before them in life—nothing to think of, and, therefore, nothing to do—the climate and soil favouring a listless and purposeless existence.

Now, it is not reasonable to expect from such people hard and continuous work. Is it reasonable to expect from people anywhere spontaneous and superfluous toil? No man anywhere will work without adequate motive or incentive. If a man finds that two hours' labour a day answers all his purposes, why should he work for ten hours, or eight hours, or six hours? There is no man in this house, I venture to say, not even your President, with his extraordinary and abounding energy, who

will work without an object that appeals to him. "Every man has his price" is not an immoral sentiment, as Macaulay called it. It is as upright a statement as human nature is.

As regards spontaneous labour, even England, notwithstanding her multifarious activities, appealing to the outside world by the splendour of their achievements, is not free from all classes of men, especially in the cities, who will not work, and without the excuse which the African has of an exhausting climate and a prolific and ever producing soil. A few days ago, I saw a number of men in the morn-hours, sitting and lying about in the neighbourhood of St. George's Hall in this city. I asked a policeman standing by, "What are those "men doing here?" "Oh, they are resting," he replied. "Resting," I said, "what have "they been doing?" "Just what they are "doing now," he answered with a smile. "Have they no work to do, then?" I enquired. "Those are men," he answered with an air of seriousness, "who, as a rule, will "not work. Some of them are married men, who "live on the labour of their wives, who take in

"washing or do other work to support them." "There are numbers of people in this country," he went on to say, with increasing gravity, "who never did work and never will work". Human nature, then, it appears, is everywhere the same. You will find everywhere the incapable, the indolent, and the lazy! "The "dignity of labour" is, I am afraid, only an ornamental phrase, without meaning in the ears of undignified humanity; and a very large proportion of the human race are unfortunately undignified. Now, so far as the African is concerned, any system that will convert that happy, careless, rich child of the tropics, sleeping (without even dreaming) his time away, into a wakeful, alert individual, anxious not only to supply his immediate necessities, but to improve his own personal surroundings, and to promote the general improvement of his country—I say, any system which will supply incentives to exertion and thrift, which will convert these paupers, as civilisation would call them, into producers for the mills of Lancashire, and consumers of the products of those mills, is deserving of the most consummate patron

of the political and commercial agencies now interested in Africa. The enterprise of increasing the cultivation of the soil is far more valuable, because more widespread and more permanent in its benefits, than that of digging gold from the earth.

Time will not now allow me to touch upon the other problems which confront European enterprise, and affect native conditions in Africa, such as the liquor traffic, the sanitary question, the religious question, segregation, &c. I will only add one remark. A few years ago, within the easy memory of some here to-day, Europe was content to leave the fertile coasts of Africa to be tenanted only by a few scattered savages or wild animals. Now, the nations are eagerly contending with each other for those neglected territories, and the competition that England will have yet to encounter is only in its infancy.

WEST AFRICA BEFORE EUROPE.

I count myself fortunate in the opportunity of addressing you at this beginning of the third year of the existence of the African Society. I recognize the great honour conferred upon me and upon the race to which I belong by the position I am at this moment permitted to occupy. I feel also the great responsibility. As a speaker to such an assembly as this, my position is a difficult one; because, in the first place, it is inevitable that I should repeat what you have heard over and over again; secondly, I may, from my standpoint, put forward views that, at first sight, may appear to you odd, bizarre and inappropriate.

As to the repetition of the trite, I have this consolation that the same things do not always strike us in the same way. The special circum-

stances attending an occurrence or a statement may invest it with new new meanings to us or may suggest a different point of view. A great deal depends upon our mental attitude at the time of hearing or reading them how ideas will strike us.

Miss Kingsley, in the letters which she did me the honour to write to me from time to time, insisted upon the value of repetition, especially of facts or ideas in connection with Africa, which, she used to say, owing to the rapid march of events on that continent were sure, however trite, to assume new force by every repetitition, whether by one or by different persons.

As to whatever unconventional views I may put forward to-day, I have the encouragement of a distinguished member of this Society, who has said: "If the scientific friends of Africa can only get to know what Africa really thinks, they may defy the opinions of those who tell them what Africa ought to think."

The subject which I am announced to discuss on this occasion is "West Africa before Europe," not so much its geographical, political,

or commercial aspects, as the moral and religious questions which a contemplation of that portion of the British empire suggests.

The precise limits of West Africa are not accurately defined. When I studied geography many years ago, what was generally understood as constituting West Africa was the whole of the line of the Western Portion of the Continent within the tropics, commencing at Cape Blanco and forming a wide sweep around the Gulf of Guinea to Angola, near the Southern extremity of the Congo, thus extending upwards of 3,000 miles along the Atlantic with an average breadth of say, 500 miles. This country, I see, is now divided into West and South-west Africa. But in this discussion, I will deal with West Africa as formerly understood.

A great event marked the opening years of the nineteenth century, viz., the abolition by Great Britain of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. An equally great event, I consider, marks the opening of the twentieth century, viz., the organisation of the African Society. The first affected the body of the African—that which

is seen and temporal; this will affect the soul, which is unseen and eternal.

The Anti-Slavery Societies of the past, in which I include the Aborigines Protection Society, laboured to rid the body of material shackles, and glorious is the work they have achieved and are still achieving. The African Society may, I hope, be called a new Anti-Slavery Society with a higher and more delicate and difficult work before it. It is to me and every thinking African the harbinger of a great future for Africa. It is like the song of the nightingale after the long and dreary winter of misconception on the part of the foreigner and of woes innumerable on the part of the native. It is as yet only on the threshold of the work to be done. It is as yet only learning the alphabet of the new philosophy or the new Faith which is to bring Africa within the intelligent and sympathetic grasp of the outside world. If it can only be instrumental in exploding the fallacies which during the ages have hindered effective and beneficent results, it will have done a great work of which others in the future will reap the advantage. And

the time is ripe for its labours. "No century," it has been said, "has seen so great a change in our intellectual apprehension of the world in which we live, and the change is the result of the cumulative [1] products of scientific research." In its wider apprehension of its work and its deeper recognition of its proper methods the England of to-day is very different from the England of two generations ago.

It was imagined throughout the nineteenth century by many of the best friends of the African, even among those who were most strenuous in their efforts to deliver him from physical bondage, that he had in his native home no social organisation of his own, that he was destitute of any religious ideas and entirely without any foundation of morality. Therefore, it was said, "*We* must supply this serious deficiency. Let us give him a religion to save his soul and a morality to save his body." But a deeper knowledge of the man and of his country—a scientific study of the subject—is showing that Africa did not need

[1] Mr. A. J. Balfour in *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1901.

this benevolent interference. The creeds formulated in Europe are not indispensable to Africa's spiritual development. No nation or race has a monopoly of the channels which lead to the sources of divine grace or spiritual knowledge. "God sends his prophets unto every clime and every race of men with revelations fitted to their growth and shape of mind."[1] But a greater than Lowell has said: "The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the spirit.[2] The Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule *are* indispensable to the usefulness, happiness, and prosperity of Africans as of every race of men, and these are observed in every African community untouched by European civilisation, and observed with a strictness and efficiency not always found even in European communities. The creeds of Europe were, as a rule, formulated by Councils called to consider religious questions and not always from any spiritual urgency but often from a political

[1] James Russel Lowell. [2] John iii. 8.

necessity of the times in which they occurred; and the conclusions at which they arrived were the expression of public opinion formed under the actual conditions of Society. This is no reason why these conclusions and opinions should be authoritatively extended to other races or countries, especially when even in the countries in which they originated, hundreds of years ago, many object to their perpetuation into the present time. Why should they be indiscriminately introduced into Africa as necessary to the salvation of the people, when we have the conditions of salvation—temporal and eternal, worldly and spiritual salvation—laid down in simple and comprehensible terms by the Master Himself? "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets." "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."?

There is no fact in the modern history of Europe in its relation to Africa more promis-

ir- countries, and at the same time

more fraught with peril for the latter, than the ever increasing importance which the commercial and political interests of the two countries are assuming, viewed from the Imperial and Commercial standpoint of Europe. The great peril to Africa lies in the ignorance of African character on the part of those who attempt to exploit the new field or assert responsibility for the government of the people. This ignorance extended in the past not less to the people than to the resources of the country. Thanks to the magnificent labours of the noble band of travellers, and explorers of whom our President is an illustrious example, who, during the last 50 years, have practically grappled with the tangled problem of West Africa, the Natural History and resources of the country are getting to be fairly understood and appreciated.

But the *man* of the country is still an unapproachable mystery to the outside world. He is everywhere *prima facie* a stranger. Nowhere can he by any simulation of look, by any remote resemblance be lost in a foreign crowd. In Asia, Europe, and America, he is

at once "spotted" as a peculiar being—*sui generis*.

> "Fleecy locks and dark complexion
> Cannot forfeit Nature's claim,"

but they serve to hopelessly differentiate the possessors of those attributes from any other class of human beings. This fact, perhaps not generally noticed in the ordinary intercourse of men and women, especially of Europeans who have been abroad, is a matter of intense curiosity to children and untravelled people of a race foreign to the African. Nearly all intelligent Africans who have travelled in foreign lands have amusing experiences of this. During a visit to Blackpool many years ago, I went with some hospitable friends to the Winter Garden where there were several wild animals on exhibition. I noticed that a nurse having two children with her, could not keep her eyes from the spot where I stood, looking at first with a sort of suspicious, if not terrified curiosity. After a while she heard me speak to one of the gentlemen who were with me. Apparently surprised and reassured by this evidence of a

genuine humanity, she called to the children who were interested in examining a leopard, "Look, look there is a black man and he speaks English." Macaulay tells us, in one of his delightful letters, that he once had an experience of a similar kind, which he took as a compliment to his literary pre-eminence. To me the incident was an illustration of what I am now endeavouring to point out to you—the impression made by the colour of the Negro upon the unsophisticated of a foreign race. Bishop Heber says, however, that it is not the colour so much as the appearance—the look of the African, which produces the peculiar feelings of the foreigner at the first sight of him.

Scientific Europeans, who have any time to give to the subject at all, look upon a being whose physical characteristics are so different from their own as possessing also mental peculiarities which require special study. The unthinking European partly from superficial knowledge and partly from a profound belief not only in an absolute racial difference, but in his own absolute racial superiority, rushes to the

conclusion that this difference of external appearance implies not only a physical difference, but an inferior mental or psychological constitution, and that the man possessing it must by assiduous culture by the European be brought up to the level of his teacher.

It is this view of the case, which, regarding it as pernicious in the extreme, Miss Kingsley so strongly antagonised. With the characteristic temper of her family or *tribe*, as she used to call the Kingsleys, she determined to combat this error, and, guided by the scientific instinct, she wanted facts to stand upon. She saw that to make any effective or respectable fight for the man of Africa she must know him. She, therefore, despising all perils and heedless of all advice, went to Africa to study the man in his own home; and she chose to go where he had not been tampered with—had not been subjected to the veneer of European manipulation, but where he was himself. No one who has not been amid those scenes can understand or even imagine the discomforts and inconveniences of the enterprise undertaken by that intrepid lady on behalf of science and human-

ity. And it is as creditable to the African as it was generous in his talented visitor that she found him in his primitive state a being as to whom she could entertain feelings of respect and with whom she could be on terms of friendship.

But "that warm and noble heart," as Mrs. J. R. Green has told us,[1] "purged by severe training from every self-regarding thought, went out to all human need. . . . From time to time her friends could see, looking for a moment into the depths of that solitary and tragic soul, out of what deep experiences her patient charities had grown" Like another woman of her type, though of a different race, she could have uttered that magnificent sentiment:

"Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco."[2]

Mrs. Green in the same article says, "A true knowledge of the native proves that the

[1] *Journal of the African Society*, October, 1901.

[2] Not ignorant of suffering myself I have learned how to sympathise with the wretched. Virgil *Æneid*, Book I. 630. An eminent member of the African Society, who did me the honour to listen to this address, has reminded me that "Dido was a Carthaginian, and, therefore, an African."

Negro has a *mind-form* of his own, which it is worse than useless to try and drag into what at best must be a bad imitation of a wholly different thing—the European *mind-form*. The one thing necessary is, therefore, to study the Native mind without prejudice, and to help its development along its own lines of thought. Miss Kingsley determined to know what it was to "think black." It was not to be learned in an arm chair at home. "I have risked my life," she says, "for months at a time on this one chance of my being able to know the way people were thinking round me, and of my being able to speak to them in a way that they would recognise as just, true, and logical."

This is admirable. But to "think black," *Cui bono*? "What is the good of learning to 'think black?'" the generality of people might ask. "This is an impracticable dream. We do not want to think black. We want to *utilise* black. We want to make the man who wears the shadowed livery of the burnished sun subservient to us. What logic could he· [illegible]hat courageous but visionary per-

son to desire a solution of that useless puzzle ?"

The reply is, Miss Kingsley was a providential instrument raised up in the course of human evolution to save Europe from imbruing her hands in her brother's blood. She dreaded, as Europe with further light will dread, the guilt of murdering native institutions, and thus if not actually destroying the people, impairing their power of effective co-operation with their alien exploiters. Every race, it is now being recognised, has a soul, and the soul of the race finds expression in its institutions, and to kill those institutions is to kill the soul—a terrible homicide. "Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul."

Europe had so long been taught to regard the people who drink the waters of the Niger, the Gambia, and the Congo, who dwell on the borders of the great Lakes and roam the plains of Nigeria as hopelessly degraded, that it came as a surprise—to not a few an agreeable surprise—to learn that these people had institutions worthy of study, of respect and of preservation.

So far as West Africa is concerned, and as far as thinking Africans see things, Miss Kingsley was the greatest African missionary, or missionary to Africa produced in the 19th Century, and this because, as was said of her, by one who knew her well, "she gained a knowledge of the native mind beyond any one in this century," and she first undertook the arduous and thankless task of battling single-handed against the conventional disparagement of African institutions.

The African Society came into existence at a time when it was most urgently needed. Organised during a period of unprecedented political upheavals in connection with British interests in the Southern part of Africa, the attention of the British Nation was in a special manner turned to that Continent. The Society could hardly have come earlier. The nation was not previously prepared for it; and had it delayed much longer irreparable mischief might have been done.

It was *felix opportunitate nativitatis*—happy in the time of its birth. It came when the accession to Downing Street of unaccustomed

energy and an ardent statesmanship had shaken to its foundation the Colonial policy of the past; when not only the decision of the Parliamentary Committee of 1865 with regard to West Africa had been entirely discredited, and not only had the duty of exploiting the "undeveloped estates" of the Empire been clearly expounded and accepted, but when the doctrine of expansion, the desirability of "fresh fields and pastures new" for Colonial activity had been forced upon the Government.

The new Society appealed for recognition to Downing Street, nor did it appeal in vain. The Colonial Secretary, with his quick sagacity, gave prompt official welcome to the new organisation, recognising in its programme an element of helpfulness in the new departure being inaugurated; and by his ready response recommending it to the confidence of the public at large, exciting an interest in it, and suggesting the possibility of its being rendered conducive not only to the instruction of the Government, but also to helping forward the mental and moral progress of the Continent whose name it bears.

An eminent English divine and leader of religious thought in the English speaking world, wrote to me a few months ago as follows :—

"I was most glad to join the African Society and think it likely to be useful. At first, I dreaded, lest it should be one more of those unhappy organizations, which seek to Anglicise the African and to rub down till at last they smooth into nonentities all race elements; but I knew that was not Miss Kingsley's desire . . . . England cannot help—even when she declares the contrary—desiring to mould nations and races after her own pattern. She will do it unconsciously, if not consciously, but it ought to be possible to keep this Society within the principles it has laid down for itself."

My eloquent correspondent, in connecting himself with the African Society was largely influenced by the utterances made at the inaugural meeting (June 27th, 1901), first by the President, the Marquess of Ripon, and in the letters read and the speeches of the distinguished men who wrote and spoke on that memorable occasion.

They described and emphasised the spirit by which the founders of the Society were actuated. In the remarks of the noble Lord, he not only strongly deprecated indiscriminate interference with native customs, but indicated a tentative or experimental or, I should probably say, a

scientific position. "I am not quite sure," is the phrase by which the noble President introduced his emphatic protest. This is a mental attitude becoming an earnest enquirer, anxious to know the truth. It is for those intimately acquainted with the subject, and especially as Miss Kingsley often suggested—for educated natives to remove the incertitude of foreign inquirers and strengthen them in their enlightened faith. Now, if the African educated on European lines (and I am glad to see several Africans in the audience), is unable or unwilling to teach the outside world something of the Institutions and inner feelings of his people; if for some reason or other, he can show nothing of his real self to those anxious to learn and to assist him; if he cannot make his friends feel the force of his racial character and sympathise with his racial aspiration, then it is evident that his education has been sadly defective, that his training by aliens has done but little for him—that his teachers have surely missed their aim and wasted their time. Among the letters read at the inaugural meeting and published in its proceedings I have been struck

with the following paragraph in the letter of Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith :—

"The old saying, '*Ex Africa semper aliquid novi*,' has to us a meaning which could not have been dreamt of by those who first uttered it. The time seems now to have come to organize and co-ordinate in a scientific spirit the overgrowing yield of this new field of knowledge. The Society has already enlisted among its officers and members, administrators, economists, traders, students; and it is hoped it may come in time to be regarded as the common meeting ground of all who are interested in any of the infinitely varying problems—physical, ethical, social—which Africa presents. It starts under the best auspices on what I hope will prove a useful and prosperous career."

When a hundred years hence, the historian at the first centennial anniversary of the African Society shall be looking for illustrations of the truly scientific, philanthropic and even prophetic spirit of the founders of this Institution he will quote the above among his aptest illustrations.

When we consider the zeal and energy with which generous Europeans have for the last hundred years been trying to introduce religion into Africa, it is interesting to look back to ancient times and study the place which the Continent then occupied in the religious history

of the world. It was for many ages the seat and centre of religious impulse—so regarded, it would appear, by the Almighty Himself, as we are taught in the Bible, and by the gods of Greece and Rome, as taught by their Poets. The founders of the Hebrew religion, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses — received religious instruction in Egypt. The greatest of all the Prophets was in helpless infancy sheltered in Egypt. Great Kings and warriors went to Africa to learn the will of God at the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon. Alexander the Great did homage to it and made costly offerings at its shrine. We read of only one Roman statesman, Cato, who, far in advance of his time, resisted the common sentiment of devotion to that shrine. When accompanied by Labienus, a Roman General, he approached the fane of Jupiter Ammon, and was requested by his companion to demand of the Oracle to answer certain questions as to political events at Rome, he demurred in terms which showed that he even at that time was acquainted with the truth which the world only now is beginning to recognise, that God is not confined to place

So far as spiritual matters are concerned the only exotic or what ought to be called *quasi* exotic religious system which has ever exerted wide spread influence in Africa is Islam, and it has nothing to fear from any efforts to uproot it in that land. It possesses inherent elements of strength in its own code of morality; and, in its general lines, is far more suited to the African than any form of Christianity which has been presented for his acceptance. It will never succumb to the presentment of so-called Christian ethics. Indeed Islam is the form that Christianity takes in Africa. Mrs. Green has told us that everything that goes into Africa turns black; and Canon Scott Holland in a recent very striking and remarkable speech on African Missions—a speech saturated with the spirit of the times—said, "All our white work will pass away"—that contains real prophecy, and the Canon goes on to say—"Then the work will pass to native Evangelists and priests as it passes through us into them, into these men carefully trained and disciplined, somehow or other everything connected with the high hat and 'Dearly

devil" as it has been recently said, it was the first home of God.

Now things have so changed that it is the opinion of some that God is everywhere except in Africa. But Africa's turn will be sure to come again. Europe exhausted and utterly materialised will again resort to the so-called Dark Continent for simple faith in the Supreme Being, and again will that grey-haired Mother of Civilization be a refuge for seers who see and prophets who prophesy.

And there was ample ground for the opinion of the Ancients. The Gods themselves, according to the then popular opinion, went to Africa to spend their holidays among those whom the greatest of the Greek poets described as the "blameless Ethiopians," considering them the fittest of mortals for divine association. Europe was never distinguished in the past for pious impulses or religious leadership. In the greatest tragedy of human history, Africa was represented as associated with the Divine Sufferer —going down into the valley with Jesus. Asia betrayed the God-Man into the hands of Europe—gave Him up as a sheep to the

slaughter. Europe slew Him and plundered His clothes after His death. The following are the impressive words of the sacred narrative (John xix):

"Then the soldiers (Roman soldiers) when they had crucified Jesus, took His garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part, and also His coat; now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout, they said, therefore, among themselves, let us not rend it but cast lots for it, whose it shall be; that the Scripture might be fulfilled which saith, They parted My raiment among them and for My Vesture they did cast lots. These things therefore the (Roman) soldiers did."

Now the racial descendants of these soldiers, who are soldiers yet—God's soldiers—the overlords and policemen of humanity, believe, apparently, with an inextinguishable faith that they can carry this Jesus whom they slew into Africa. Experience, however, has shown that the enterprise is a most difficult if not impossible one.

One important reason for this is, that it is, nowadays, difficult to say what Christianity is.

It seems to depend a good deal upon forms; indeed, in some parts of Christendom various devices are invented to allure professing Christians to Church. And, then, even among the most earnest adherents of the religion there exists considerable diversity of opinion; and these divergent views are brought to Africa and insisted upon by the different sects. Who, then, is to tell the poor African by which particular door he is to enter the precincts of Heaven?

It is now felt on all hands that the most effective way open to Europe and America of assisting in the true development of Africa and the African is on educational and industrial lines conducted "in a scientific spirit." And this is also the feeling of the best thinkers among non-European races.

When in 1896, Li Hung Chang, Viceroy of China, visited New York, representatives of the various Missionary Societies operating in China, called upon him and presented an address of welcome. The address contained a beautiful, delicate and well deserved tribute to the Viceroy personally and to the Chinese

Government for the protection and patronage accorded to the Missionaries belonging to that country.

The Viceroy in his courteous and statesman-like reply, emphasised the features of Mission work which have been of most obvious help to his people. He laid special stress upon the educational and material advantages conferred by the Missionaries. He said :

"As man is composed of soul, intellect and body, I rightly appreciate that your eminent Boards, in your arduous and much esteemed work in the field of China, have neglected none of the three. I need not say much about the first, being an unknowable mystery, of which even our great Confucius had no knowledge. As for intellect, you have started numerous educational establishments, which have served as the best means to enable our countrymen to acquire a fair knowledge of the modern arts and sciences of the West. As for the material part of our constitution, your societies have started hospitals and dispensaries to save not only the soul but also the body of our countrymen. I have also to add that in time of famine in some of the provinces you have done your best for the greatest number of sufferers, to keep their bodies and souls together."

If Missionary Societies can be liberally supported to do the great work so freely and justly commended by the Viceroy they

would confer inestimable benefits upon backward and non-Christian races—helping them to a profitable and comfortable material basis for spiritual growth—fitting them to enjoy the promise of this life and of that which is to come, in a word, to save the soul, which Li Hung Chang described as that "unknowable mystery of which even the great Confucius had no knowledge."

A recent American Church paper has complained that missionary offerings are to a great extent the gifts of women and children. It says:

"In the whole history of our Missionary enterprise we have failed to find a single great offering as an annual contribution. The brains and the money of the Church have not been enlisted. We have men of fortune, who are to-day swaying the destinies of nations, and most of these men are on our boards and vestries, and in our conventions, national and diocesan, and they ought to be and can be reached. They build churches and parish-houses, universities and libraries, railways and factories, and all these are well and should be multiplied; but these men should be made to know that there is something better and holier, something richer in possibilities and permanent power than these things, noble as they are, and that is the enterprise which endeavours to bring and bind together in the family of God all nations, races and peoples."[1]

[1] Quoted in *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, May, 1903.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, as if in reply to this, has recently indicated the line, at least so far as Africa is concerned, on which these men of fortune—"the brains and the money of the Church"—prefer to work.

The papers have recently announced the magnificent gift of £120,000 by Mr. Carnegie to the Trustees of the Tuskegee Institute, U.S., under a Negro Principal for the industrial training of Negro youth.

The Tuskegee Institute is a noble monument of the perseverance and energy of its black founder. No educational work in America, either among whites or blacks, has given greater satisfaction or has attained so wide a reputation, because it has demonstrated what the African can do for himself and for others. It has taught by precept and example how the ex-slave may rise in intelligence, in material comforts and social position. Mr. Booker T. Washington, the Founder, himself coming "up from slavery," has by his own talents, energy and thrift, reached a position unparalleled in the history of his race in the Western Hemi-

—here. [illegible]ts appealed to Mr. Carnegie

with a force which has induced him to give before his own countrymen and the whole civilised world by his enlightened munificence, his practical sanction of the methods in vogue at Tuskegee for the training of African youth.

As far as I am aware, this is Mr. Carnegie's first gift to an alien race and is accepted by Africans everywhere as a compliment to their Fatherland.

I am reminded of what it may not be inappropriate to refer to here—a most interesting chapter bearing the curious title of "The Poetry of Wealth," in the volume of "Stray Studies," by John Richard Green, in which the eloquent historian foretold the advent at some future day of a Poet Capitalist, who would revel in the opportunities for doing good, which his enormous wealth would supply. Mr. Carnegie realises Mr. Green's prognostications. Perhaps the millionaire has read the stimulating prophecy of the historian. If he has not read it his attention should be called to it for the comfort and encouragement he might derive from its eloquent suggestiveness and its marvellous coincidence with the magnificent schemes and speculations of his splendid philanthropy.

DT 471 .B5
West Africa before Europe,
Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 041 532 578

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
CECIL H. GREEN LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-1493

All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

JAN
NOV 2 2002